The Society of Norman Italy
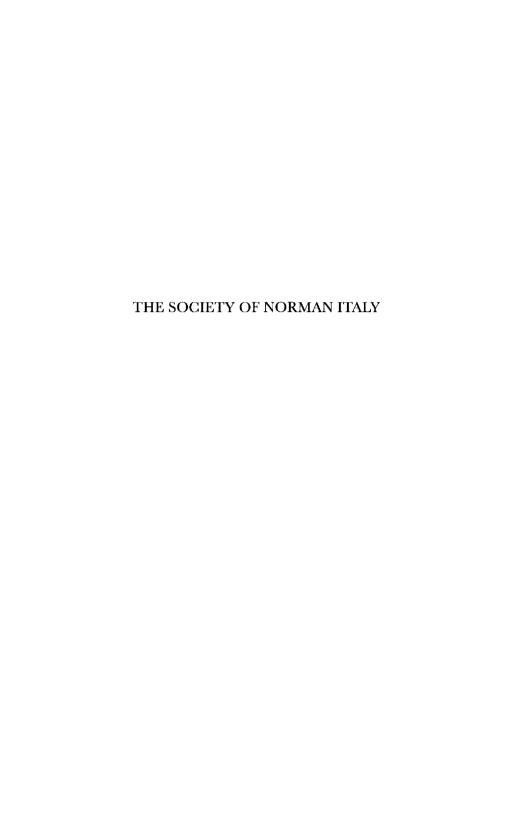
Edited by
G.A. Loud and A. Metcalfe

THE SOCIETY OF NORMAN ITALY

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THE SOCIETY
OF
NORMAN ITALY

EDITED BY

G.A. LOUD AND A. METCALFE

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Der Erinnerung an Norbert Kamp (1927–99) gewidmet

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PREFACE

The idea for a volume of essays by leading historians of the Norman kingdom of Sicily, to be published in English, was first raised during a conversation between Jeremy Johns and myself on an aeroplane flying from Palermo to London in the spring of 1992. That it has come to fruition is largely due to the encouragement of Julian Deahl, commissioning editor at Brill publishers. The original intention was to commission a series of entirely new essays, both on the various regions of southern Italy and on a variety of themes relating to the kingdom as a whole. The completed volume still bears traces of this plan, but is neither so comprehensive as originally envisaged nor has it been entirely written *de novo*. Considerations of length and the availability of suitable participants, as well as the many other commitments of those who wished to play a part, inevitably modified the original concept. Thus only some provinces have been discussed separately, and while a number of themes have been examined there have been others that might equally merit attention, but which we have been unable to include. A chapter on the aristocratic social structure was commissioned but never delivered, and although several contributors, notably Martin and Metcalfe, touch upon them, in retrospect we might well have devoted more attention to the peasants whose labours underpinned the whole edifice of south Italian society, as indeed they did every medieval society. It was also decided, with regret, to exclude art historical, and intellectual and cultural, chapters. Here the editors were conscious that, while there are many gaps in the field, there is a reasonably broad range of studies available in English, whereas other aspects of the society of the Mezzogiorno have received little or no attention in that language, a state of affairs that this book is intended to remedy. Furthermore, having for some years taught a course on Norman Sicily to university students, first as a second-year option and latterly as a document-based special subject, I was very conscious not just of how limited the scope of the available scholarship in English was, but also of how much Anglophone students missed through being unable to read the work of distinguished historians from Europe who have made important

and stimulating contributions to the study of medieval southern Italy. Hence, while four of the eleven contributors to this book are from the English-speaking world, the other seven, all acknowledged experts in the field, are from Continental Europe and have rarely if ever previously published their findings in English.

Two of our authors, Professors Herde and Houben, who were especially busy with other projects, asked that English versions of previously published essays be included in this collection, and sadly Professor Norbert Kamp died in October 1999, soon after he agreed to take part. With the kind agreement of his widow, the editors have included an updated version of one of his many fine essays on the south Italian Church. The two other essays in this category have also been modified and updated—neither is a straight translation of an existing work. All three of these essays appeared well-worth bringing to the attention of those who would find difficulty reading the original German versions. We have tried to present all the chapters, whether revised or entirely new, in a common format, even if their lengths and focus may have been rather different. However, while we have sought agreement on matters of fact, and have attempted to bring consistency to the referencing, the editors have tried to let the contributors speak for themselves, and not sought to impose a spurious uniformity on those whose views on some issues may differ one from another, even at the cost of some internal consistency within the volume. History remains a subject of debate and discussion, not received truth.

I am very grateful to the contributors for agreeing to take part, for (in most cases) their adherence to deadlines, their patience in answering the editors' queries and tolerating quibbles about footnotes, and their care in checking and correcting English translations. Special thanks should go to Trish Skinner for completing her chapter ahead of time while on maternity leave. The work and encouragement of Alex Metcalfe as co-editor has been invaluable, not least with regard to Greek and Arabic terminology, as has the technical expertise of Mrs. Angela Softley and Katherine Fenton in remedying the defects of the principal editor's IT education.

Had he lived to read it, Norbert Kamp would have rejoiced to see this collaborative project, for no scholar was more generous than him in giving assistance to others, and especially in encouraging

younger workers in his field.[1] We are pleased and honoured to dedicate this volume to his memory.

G.A. Loud   Leeds, November 2001

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[1] Details of Kamp's career as a historian and his work as the first elected president of the Georg-August Universität at Göttingen may be found in *Norbert Kamp zum Gedenken*, published in the series 'Göttinger Universitätsreden' by Vandenhoek & Rupprecht, 2001.

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MAPS

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CONTRIBUTORS

Joanna Drell is Assistant Professor of Medieval History at the University of Richmond (Virginia). Her first book, *Kinship and Conquest: Family Strategies in the Principality of Salerno during the Norman Period 1077–1194*, will be appearing shortly from Cornell University Press.

Horst Enzensberger is Professor of the Ausciliary Sciences of History at the University of Bamberg. His edition of the charters of King William I of Sicily was published in 1996, and he is currently editing the charters of William II.

Vera von Falkenhausen is Professor of the Auxiliary Sciences of History at the University of Rome 'Tor Vegata', having previously taught at the Universities of Potenza and Chieti. She has written the standard work on the administration of Byzantine Italy (1967), and many essays on the Greek provinces of early medieval Italy, especially on their ecclesiastical and urban history.

Laurent Feller is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Marne-la-Vallée. He is the author of *Les Abruzzes médiévales. Territoire, économie et société en Italie centrale du IXe au XIIe siècle* (1998).

Peter Herde has recently retired as Professor of Medieval History at the University of Würzburg. He has written extensively on the history of the papal chancery and on other aspects of papal history, notably his biographical study of Celestine V (1981). He has also written a biography of Charles I of Anjou (1979), and has made a number of contributions to the study of late medieval Germany, including to the *New Cambridge Medieval History*.

Hubert Houben is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Lecce, and has also taught at the University of Bologna. He has written widely on the ecclesiastical history of southern Italy in the Norman period, including an important monograph on the monastery of Venosa, the first mausoleum of the Hauteville dynasty, published

in 1995. His *Roger II. von Sizilien. Herrscher zwischen Orient und Oksident* (1997) has just appeared in English translation from Cambridge University Press.

Norbert Kamp (†) was the first President of the University of Göttingen from 1979 to 1992, having previously taught at the University of Braunschweig. His monumental prosopography of the episcopate of the kingdom of Sicily under the Staufen appeared in four volumes between 1973 and 1982.

Graham A. Loud is Reader in Medieval Italian History at the University of Leeds. His most recent book is *The Age of Robert Guiscard. Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Longmans, 2000). He is currently preparing a volume of translated sources on the age of Roger II.

Jean-Marie Martin is a research professor at the Centre National des Récherches Scientifiques in Paris and at the École Française in Rome. He is the author of *La Pouille du VIe au XII Siècle* (1993), and *Italies Normandes, XIe–XIIe Siècles* (1994). The most recent among his several editions of medieval south Italian documents is that of the chartulary-chronicle of St. Sophia, Benevento (2000).

Alex Metcalfe is a British Academy post-doctoral Research Fellow in the Department of Arabic and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Leeds. His first book, *Muslims and Christians in 'Norman' Sicily: Arabic-Speakers and the End of Islam,* will shortly be published by Curzon Press.

Patricia Skinner is Lecturer in Medieval History at the University of Southampton. Her publications include *Family Power in Southern Italy. The Duchy of Gaeta and its Neighbours, 850–1139* (1995), *Health and Medicine in Early Medieval Southern Italy* (1997), and most recently *Women in Medieval Italian Society, 500–1200* (Longmans, 2001).

ABBREVIATIONS

Acta SS	*Acta Sanctorum*
Al. Tel.	*Alexandrini Telesini Abbatis Ystoria Rogerii Regis Siciliae, Calabriae atque Apuliae*, ed. L. De Nava, FSI, Rome 1991.
Amari, *BAS*	M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, 2 vols., Turin 1880.
Amatus	*Storia de'Normanni di Amato di Montecassino*, ed. V. de Bartholomeis, FSI, Rome 1935.
Behring, *Regesten*	refers to the register of royal charters of W. Behring, 'Sicilianische Studien, Teil II: Regesten des normannischen Königshauses 1130–1197', *Programm des königlichen Gymnasiums zu Elbing*, Elbing 1887, 3–28.
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, 3rd ed. by F. Halkin, 3 vols., Brussels 1957
BHL	*Bibliografica Hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, ed. Société des Bollandistes, 2 vols., Brussels 1949.
CAG	Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile, ed. A. Guillou, 5 vols., Vatican City, 1967–
Cat. Bar.	*Catalogus Baronum*, ed. E.M. Jamison, FSI, Rome 1972.
Cat. Bar. Commentario	E. Cuozzo, *Catalogus Baronum, Commentario*, FSI, Rome 1984.
Cava	Archivio della badia di S. Trinità di Cava
Chron. Cas.	*Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ed. H. Hoffmann (MGH SS xxxiv, Hanover 1980).
Chron. Casauriense	*Chron. Casauriense auctore Johanne Berardi*, in L.A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ii(2), Milan 1726, cols. 775–1018.
Chron. S. Sophiae	*Chronicon Sanctae Sophiae (Cod. Vat. Lat. 4939)*, ed. J-M. Martin, 2 vols., FSI, Rome 2000.
Chron. Vult.	*Chronicon Vulternense del monaco Giovanni*, ed. V. Federici, 3 vols., FSI, Rome 1925–38.

Cod. Dipl. Amalfi	*Codice diplomatico Amalfitano*, ed. R. Filangieri di Candida, 2 vols., Naples 1917, Trani 1951.
Cod. Dipl. Aversa	*Codice diplomatico normanno di Aversa*, ed. A. Gallo, Naples 1927.
Cod. Dipl. Barese	*Codice diplomatico Barese*, 19 vols., Bari 1897–1950.
Cod. Dipl. Caiet.	*Codex Diplomaticus Caietanus*, 2 vols., Montecassino 1887–92.
Cod. Dipl. Cavensis	*Codex Diplomaticus Cavensis*, ed. Morcaldi *et aliis*, 8 vols., Milan 1875–93; vols. ix–x, ed. S. Leone & G. Vitolo, Cava dei Tirreni 1984–90.
Cod. Dipl. Pugliese	*Codice diplomatico pugliese* (the continuation of the *Codice diplomatico Barese*, 13 vols., Bari 1975 to date).
Cod, Dipl. Tremiti	*Codice diplomatico del monastero benedettino di S. Maria di Tremiti 1005–1237*, ed. A. Petrucci, 3 vols., FSI, Rome 1960.
Cod. Dipl. Verginiano	*Codice diplomatico Verginiano*, ed. P.M. Tropeano, 11 vols., Montevergine 1977–98.
Codice Perris	*Il Codice Perris. Cartulario Amalfitano. Sec. X–XV*, ed. J. Mazzoleni & R. Orefice, 3 vols., Amalfi 1985–7.
Constance, *Diplomata*	*Constantiae Imperatricis et Reginae Siciliae Diplomata (1195–8)*, ed. T. Kölzer (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae II (i), 2, Cologne 1983)
Cusa, *Diplomi*	*I Diplomi greci ed arabi di Sicilia*, ed. S. Cusa, Palermo 1868.
Documenti Inediti	*I Documenti inediti dell'epoca normanna in Sicilia*, ed. C.A. Garufi (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.xiii), Palermo 1899.
Falcandus	*La Historia o Liber de Regno Sicilie e la Epistola ad Petrum Panormitane Ecclesie Thesaurium di Ugo Falcando*, ed. G.B. Siragusa, FSI, Rome 1897.
Falco	*Falcone di Benevento, Chronicon Beneventanum*, ed. E. D'Angelo, Florence 1998.
Fontes	*Pontificia Commissio ad Redigendum Codicem Iuris Canonici Orientalis, Fontes, series III.*
FSI	Fonti per la storia d'Italia
Gregory VII, *Reg.*	*Registrum Gregorii VII*, ed. E. Caspar (MGH Epistolae Selectae ii), Berlin 1920–3.

Italia Pontificia	*Italia Pontificia*, ed. P.F. Kehr, 10 vols., Berlin 1905–74 [vol. ix, ed. W. Holtzmann, 1963; vol. x, ed. D. Girgensohn, 1974]
Konsitutionen Friedrichs II	*Die Konstitution Friedrichs II. für das Königreich Sizilien*, ed. W. Stürner (MGH Constitutiones, ii Supplementum, Hamover 1996)
Liber Augustalis	*The Liber Augustalis or Constitutions of Melfi promulgated by the Emperor Frederick II for the Kingdom of Sicily in 1231*, trans. J.M. Powell, Syracuse, NY, 1971.
Loud, 'Calendar'	G.A. Loud, 'A Calendar of the diplomas of the Norman Princes of Capua', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xlix (1981), 99–143.
Malaterra	*De Rebus Gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis auctore Gaufredo Malaterra*, ed. E. Pontieri, RIS 2nd ed., Bologna 1927.
Ménager, *Recueil*	*Recueil des Actes des Ducs Normands d'Italie (1046–1127)*, i *Les Premiers Ducs (1046–87)*, ed. L.-R. Ménager, Bari 1981 [only volume published].
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, following the usual conventions, e.g. *Dipl. = Diplomatum*, SS = *Scriptores*, SRG = *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, etc.
MPG	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 161 vols., Paris 1857–66.
MPL	J.P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 221 vols., Paris 1844–64.
Orderic	*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. & trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols., Oxford 1969–81.
Perg. di Amalfi	*Le Pergamene di Amalfi e Ravello*, ed. J. Mazzoleni, C. Salvati & B. Mazzoleni, 3 vols., Naples 1972–5.
Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*	R. Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, 3rd ed. by A. Mongitore & V.M. Amico, 2 vols., Palermo 1733.
Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.	*Registrum Neapolitani Archivii Monumenta*, 6 vols., Naples 1854–61.
RIS	Rerum Italicarum Scriptores
Roger II, *Diplomata*	*Rogerii II Regis Diplomata Latina*, ed. C.-R.

	Brühl (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Ser. I.ii(1), Cologne 1987.
Romuald	*Romualdi Salernitani Chronicon*, ed. C.A. Garufi, RIS, 2nd series, Città di Castello 1935.
Seville, ADM	Seville, Archivio del casa ducal di Medinaceli
Spata, *Pergamene*	G. Spata, *Le Pergamene greche esistenti nel Grande Archivio di Palermo*, Palermo 1862.
Tancred, *Diplomata*	*Tancredi et Willelmi III Diplomata*, ed. H. Zielinski (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Ser. I.v), Cologne 1992.
Tyrants	*The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus' 1154–69*, trans. G.A. Loud & T.E.J. Wiedemann, Manchester 1998.
Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*	F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra sive de Episcopis Italiae*, 2nd ed. by N. Colletti, 10 vols., Venice 1717–21.
W. Apulia	*Guillaume de Pouille. La Geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu, Palermo 1961.
William I, *Diplomata*	*Guillelmi I Regis Diplomata*, ed. H. Enzensberger (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae, Ser. I.iii), Cologne 1996.

THE SICILIAN ROYAL FAMILY

Tancred de Hauteville

Robert Guiscard, = (1) Alberada
Duke of Apulia (2) Sichelgaita
(d. 1085)

Roger I = (1) Judith of Evreux
Count of Sicily (2) Eremburga of Mortain
(d. 1101) (3) Adelaide of Savona

(By 3)

Bohemond I
Prince of Antioch
(d. 1111)

Roger Borsa
Duke of Apulia
(1085–1111)

Simon
Count of Sicily
(d. 1105)

Roger II   (1) Albiria of Castile
King of Sicily = (2) Sybilla
(1130–54)   (3) Beatrice of Rethel

Bohemond II
Prince of Antioch
(d. 1130)

William
Duke of Apulia
(1111–27)

(by 1)

(by 3)

Roger
Duke of Apulia
(d. 1148)

Anfusus
Prince of Capua
(d. 1144)

Tancred
(d. 1139)

William I =
King of Sicily
(1154–66)

Margaret
of
Navarre

Constance = Henry VI
(d. 1198) (Emperor
1190–7)

(Illegitimate)

Tancred   William
King of Sicily
(1190–4)

Roger
(d. 1161)

Robert
(d. 1159)

William II = Joanna
King of Sicily
(1166–89)

Henry
(d. 1172)

Roger
(d. 1193)

William III
King of Sicily
(1194)

Frederick II
King of Sicily 1198–1250
King of Germany 1212–50
Emperor 1220–50

Henry
(d. 1241)

Conrad IV
King of Sicily
(1250–4)

Manfred
King of Sicily
(1258–66)

Conradin
(d. 1268)

Map I. Southern Italy

Penne

Pescara

St. Clement
Casauria †

Rome

St. Vincent
† on Volturno

Lesina

Montecassino †

Boiano

Lucera

Siponto

Gaeta

Troia

Ascoli

Trani

Benevento

Ariano

Molfetta

Capua

Avellino

Melfi

Bari

Aversa

Naples

Venosa

Amalfi

† Cava

Salerno

Potenza

Gravina

Castellaneta

Brindisi

Montescaglioso

Taranto

Lecce

Otranto

St. Elias
Carbone †

Gallipoli

Scribla

Rossano

Cosenza

S. Severina

Crotone

Amantea

Catanzaro

Squillace

Tropea

Lipari

Nicotera

Mileto

Oppido

Messina

Reggio

Palermo

Cefalú

Patti

Trapani †

Monreale

Cerami

Troina

Taormina

Mazara

Petralia

Castrogiovanni

Catania

Agrigento

Butera

Syracuse

Noto

† Abbeys

0   500   100 km

INTRODUCTION

The foundation of the kingdom of Sicily in 1130 drastically altered the political composition of twelfth-century Europe and created a new state, which lasted, despite the vicissitudes of the late Middle Ages and the Spanish take-over in the fifteenth-century, until the age of the *Risorgimento*. The early years of this new kingdom were by no means easy, for King Roger's unification of southern Italy was achieved in the face of repeated internal rebellion and external threat, exacerbated by the papal schism of the 1130s. The recognition of his royal status by Anacletus II, the pope who lost the schism, did little to commend the kingdom to churchmen, and it was not until 1177 that its existence was reluctantly recognised by the rulers of the German empire who still claimed to be the overlords of southern Italy. Many of his contemporaries saw the first king of Sicily as little more than a criminal, who ought not to be admitted to the family of European monarchs. The influential Cistercian leader Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux wrote to the Emperor Lothar c. 1133 that: 'it is the duty of Caesar to uphold his own crown against the machinations of that Sicilian usurper'.[1] A German abbot who described Lothar's expedition to southern Italy in 1137 said that when the emperor rejected Roger's peace offers, 'he flatly refused to hand over that province to a semi-pagan tyrant'.[2] Both external recognition and indeed the creation of a stable internal régime within the kingdom took a long time, and these processes were far from complete when King Roger died in 1154. King William I faced a series of rebellions, as well as attacks from Byzantium and the recalcitrant nobles whom his father had exiled. Relations with the papacy were settled only with the Treaty of Benevento in 1156, and those with the trading ports of northern Italy remained volatile until the 1170s.[3] The evolution of what was eventually to be a highly organised royal administration continued for some years after the innovations of the early 1140s. Thus the government of the mainland provinces underwent considerable restructuring as late as c. 1168.[4]

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[1] *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, trans. B. Scott James (1953), 210 no. 142.
[2] *Annalista Saxo*, MGH SS VI.773. Cf. in general Reuter (1996).
[3] Abulafia (1977), 136–53.
[4] Takayama (1993), 142–62.

Nor did the kingdom survive under its original dynasty for more than a relatively brief period. A bare two generations elapsed between the coronation of King Roger, in Palermo cathedral on Christmas Day 1130, and that of the German conqueror of the kingdom, Henry VI, in the same church and on the same day in 1194. The political unit however endured, and there were strong continuities between the 'Norman' kingdom before 1194 and the Staufen era thereafter. Administrative personnel from King Tancred's *curia*, like the notary and later justiciar Thomas of Gaeta, served his successors.[5] Furthermore, Henry VI died young, his son Frederick II was through his mother the grandson of King Roger, and the government after 1197, first of the Empress Constance and then of a minority régime under the overall supervision of Pope Innocent III, sought to limit the influence and property-holding of the German followers of the Emperor Henry. Later on, most of the German nobles granted south Italian lordships by Frederick II in the 1220s soon abandoned them to return home, and the German presence within the kingdom was reduced to a small number of families only.[6] Meanwhile, families of Norman origin like the San Severino and the Filangieri, and even those whose power and title dated back to before the Normans such as the Counts of Aquino, remained important in thirteenth-century southern Italy.[7] Indeed, as Norbert Kamp shows below, among the main profiteers from the Staufen conquest was a nexus of aristocratic families from the hitherto-marginal region of the Abruzzi. Nor were other developments within South Italian society underway during the twelfth-century brought to an end by the change of dynasty in 1194, and hence a number of the essays below extend their focus into the time of Frederick II, and even beyond.

To contemporaries from north of the Alps the kingdom of Sicily appeared unusual, and even exotic, and so it has to this day. These medieval observers noted its wealth, but also its climate, often inimical to north Europeans, and the (to their eyes) unusual and threatening natural phenomena. 'The mountains are always vomiting forth hellfire', wrote Peter of Blois, who spent a brief and unhappy period

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[5] Zielinski (1998), especially 332–4.

[6] For the role of the Germans within the *regno* after 1197, see Kamp (1996), and especially 172, 177 for the comments here.

[7] For the Filangieri, see below p. 206, for the San Severino, Portanova (1976b) and below p. 201, and for the Counts of Aquino, Scandone (1956). See also Loud (1996), 324, 330, 336–7, 340–1.

in Sicily in 1167–8 as one of the followers of the chancellor Stephen of Perche.[8] Indeed, the peculiarities of the *regno* became something of a literary genre, exemplified by the long letter describing his experiences there sent back to Germany by Henry VI's chancellor, Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim in 1196. Like Peter of Blois he was much impressed by the volcanoes therein; the mountain on Ischia, for example, 'in which fire and sulphur fumes are continually vomited forth', as well as Vesuvius and Mount Etna—this last had appalled Peter. As a good classical scholar the bishop was also impressed by the sight of places whose names were familiar to him from his reading, Sulmona the home of Ovid, Naples with its links with Virgil and the Fountain of Arethusa at Syracuse.[9] Yet to many outside observers one of the most striking features of the Sicilian kingdom was the presence of both Greek Christians and, much more disturbingly, Muslims within its bounds; for example 'the many thousands of Pagans' whom the Englishman Eadmer noted as part of the army of Roger I of Sicily at the siege of Capua in 1098.[10] The use of Muslim troops against fellow Christians was to be one of the charges regularly made against the Sicilian kings by hostile commentators right through until the fall of the Staufen.[11]

Some modern historians have in consequence seen the kingdom of Sicily as a bastion of tolerance, even as a precursor of a more 'modern' state, and have pointed to the use made of Greek and Arabic officials, titles, practices and artistic forms at the Sicilian court. Certainly Arabic administrators played an important role in twelfth-century Sicily, although most of these were at least nominally Christians. Furthermore, King Roger enjoyed close and friendly diplomatic relations with the Fatimid court in Cairo, some of the administrative practices and protocols at his court were derived from Fatimid exemplars, and contemporary Islamic models even influenced the design of his palaces.[12] Yet the reality of such toleration as was extended to non-Christians, was, as both Alex Metcalfe and Hubert Houben

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[8] Letter no. 46, MPL ccvii.133.

[9] His letter is contained in Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, MGH SS xxi.193–6.

[10] *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer*, ed. & trans. R.W. Southern, London 1962, 111.

[11] E.g. by Henry III of England, when he was seeking the Sicilian throne for his younger son in the 1250s, see for example the Burton Annals, *Annales Monastici*, ed H.R. Luard, (Rolls Series), London 1864, i.395. Cf. also Wieruzowski (1963) for the twelfth century, and Loud (1999c).

[12] Johns (1993), especially 145–57.

point out in this volume, more uncertain and less generous than has sometimes been suggested; it was, rather, pragmatic and driven by circumstance. As the demographic balance on Sicily swung against the Muslims, their position became increasingly precarious. Indeed, one of the principal themes of this volume is the way in which the Muslims and Arabic-speaking Christians on the island of Sicily, and also the Greeks of Calabria and north-east Sicily, were faced with both the immigration of Latin Christians adhering to the Church of Rome and the forces of acculturation, religious and social, that were to lead their communities, first to become minorities, and ultimately to isolation and (apart from the Calabrian Greeks) to virtual obliteration. While the workings of the royal administration had a dynamic of their own, and were obviously vulnerable to political changes in the court, the trend to Latin ascendancy at the expense of Greek and Arabic-speaking personnel can be traced in the quantative output of royal charters. Before Roger II of Sicily became king the documents issued in his name were compiled almost exclusively in Greek (with a few in Arabic), and a Latin section to his chancery was only set up in the wake of the take-over of the mainland in 1127–8.[13] However, of the surviving documents from the chancery of his grandson William II, 92% are in Latin, and only 8% in Greek or Arabic.[14] The exact figures may be slightly misleading, in that the attrition rate for the latter has surely been greater than for documents written in Latin, but the overall contrast is still striking. As Vera von Falkenhausen shows in this volume, documents issued by royal officials and private charters from Sicily followed a similar pattern. Yet, as she also demonstrates, Messina, the commercial centre of the island, remained a largely Greek city until at least 1200, there were still some Sicilian documents written in Greek in the thirteenth century, and a few Greek clergy remained even in the early fourteenth. The marginalisation of the 'minority' communities was a long-term process, which only began under the Normans, and needs to be examined within a broad time frame. As Peter Herde shows, papal attitudes to the Greeks of southern Italy hardened primarily in the thirteenth century, in response to wider developments within the Church as a whole. Even so there were still Greek bishops in Calabria in the late Middle Ages, and the last Calabrian see to be converted to the Latin

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[13] Brühl (1978), 21–3.
[14] Enzensberger (1995), 58.

rite, Bova, lasted in Greek hands until 1573.[15] Indeed, Greek dialects survived in a few isolated communities in southern Calabria until the twentieth century. The Muslims of Sicily felt themselves to be under threat by the time of William II, and conversions were already occurring. However, it was the large-scale deportations to the mainland ordered by Frederick II that catastrophically diminished their role on the island, and these only began in the late 1220s, while the Muslim colony that Frederick established at Lucera in northern Apulia continued until 1300.[16] But to understand the roots of the deportation of many of the Sicilian Muslims to the Capitanata, one still needs to look at the Norman period. Furthermore, as Alex Metcalfe demonstrates, the role of Arabic-speaking Christians on the island was much more significant than has hitherto been recognised, and their cultural identity was undermined by assimilation rather than by the threat of forcible resettlement.

Other issues discussed in this book also require examination over a long period. The whole structure of society ultimately rested upon the agrarian economy, and there the pace of change was slow. Yet change there was. One of the most significant was the process known to Italian historians as *incastellamento*, the grouping together of the bulk of the rural population in (often relatively large) fortified or defensible villages, known in the sources as *castra* or *castella*—words which should very definitely *not* be translated as 'castle'. (The usual south Italian term for a castle, in the north European sense, was *rocca*). This process has been one of the main preoccupations of Italian historiography over the past generation. The classic study has been that by the French historian Pierre Toubert of medieval Lazio, the area to the south and east of Rome, published in 1973.[17] But as historians have come to study the phenomenon more, and in different regions, its complexity and the extent of local variations have become apparent. Jean-Marie Martin contributes a masterly overview, in the first chapter of this volume, of the evolution of the settlement pattern in southern Italy, and of the regional variations in the local agrarian economies of the mainland. Fernand Braudel, in his rightly acclaimed book on the early modern Mediterranean,

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[15] Holtzmann (1965), 420, *Italia Pontificia*, x.50.
[16] See especially Abulafia (1990), and for the suppression of the Lucera colony, Taylor (1999).
[17] Toubert (1973), 303–447.

suggested that throughout this whole region there was a basic similarity to the agricultural economy, 'the same eternal trinity, wheat, olives and vines . . . an identical agricultural civilization, identical ways of dominating he environment'.[18] Yet as Martin shows, this was far from being the case in the eleventh and twelfth century Mezzogiorno. The duchy of Amalfi was very different from the Abruzzo, and likewise Capua and Calabria. Much of the Capitanata in northern Apulia was only settled in the century after c. 1080, and here *castella*, as opposed to open settlements, played only a peripheral role, while the rise of olive cultivation, to dominate the economy in the plains around Bari, was probably the decisive 'event' in twelfth-century Apulia.[19] One might add that the development of wheat as effectively a monoculture in much of central and western Sicily was a product of the later thirteenth century, in the wake of Frederick II's deportation ('ethnic cleansing'?) of the Sicilian Muslims, and also entailed a large-scale alteration in the geography of settlement.[20] It is clear that close study of regional variations is needed to understand the economy, and hence the social structures, of the Norman kingdom, and that there was substantial change underway in this period. Yet, as Martin is at pains to point out, we cannot separate the Norman era from what went before and after, for the process of economic and environmental change was evolutionary, and slow moving.

The Norman conquest of the eleventh century has often attracted the attention of historians, both contemporary and modern. Figures such as Robert Guiscard, the first Norman Duke of Apulia, have drawn the attention; a man who, according to one medieval chronicler, 'performed many prodigies in magnificent style, abounded in wealth, and continually enlarged his territories, overshadowing all his neighbours'.[21] All this may have been true, and certainly the Normans changed the political structures of southern Italy—although one should note that this did not lead to the immediate unification of the southern section of the peninsula, which only took place half a century after the conquest of the mainland was completed. However, such hyperbole also obscures the reality that the Norman conquerors were a small minority who never completely conquered the region, and

[18] Braudel (abridged 1992 ed.), 176.
[19] Cf. at greater length Martin (1993), 286–90, 362–6.
[20] Bercher, Courteaux & Mouton (1979), especially 537–9.
[21] *Orderic*, iii.160–1.

were too few to initiate a thorough-going change in its society. In particular, their impact on the larger towns, such as Amalfi, Bari, Benevento, Naples and Salerno, in which they rarely settled, was very limited.[22] Two of the chapters below, by Laurent Feller and Patricia Skinner, examine peripheral regions of the *regno*, incorporated into its structure by King Roger, but where the Normans arrived late and had only a limited effect on local society. Before 1130 neither the city-states of the western coast, nor the Abruzzo, were ever fully conquered. Naples had, for example, successfully resisted the Normans in the eleventh century, albeit with some losses to its outlying territories, and only finally submitted to Roger II in 1137. Not surprisingly society in these coastal duchies remained in many respects distinct from that of the interior. In the Abruzzo new Norman lordships were created, but indigenous aristocrats also prospered, and retained their place within the twelfth-century kingdom, notably the Borrell family who dominated the Sangro Valley. At the same time, and despite the destabilisation of the later eleventh century, the great abbey of St. Clement of Casauria, founded by the Carolingian Emperor Louis II in 873, remained a key influence in local society, just as the abbey of Montecassino did in the northern part of the principality of Capua.[23]

Who these 'Normans' were, and how long their consciousness of a separate identity continued, has been the subject of considerable debate. A detailed prosopographical study of identifications by origin (so-and-so 'the Norman', etc.), personal names of Scandinavian derivation, and surnames using French toponyms contained in south Italian documents of the period has concluded that between two thirds and three quarters of the invaders did indeed come from the duchy of Normandy.[24] The use of the term Norman, at least for the period of the conquest, would therefore appear perfectly valid, although (just as in England) the conquerors were never exclusively Norman and there were clearly quite a number of other newcomers who derived from different areas of France, and particularly from those provinces neighbouring Normandy, such as Brittany and Maine. Yet how long a sense of Norman identity persisted in southern Italy is problematic.

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[22] Falkenhausen (1977a), is probably still the best general examination of the impact of the Norman conquest; for the towns see especially 329, and for Salerno 361.

[23] Fabiani (1968) is an exhaustive study of the Cassinese lands in the central Middle Ages.

[24] Ménager (1975).

The twelfth-century historian known as 'Hugo Falcandus' claimed
that King Roger favoured men from north of the Alps; 'since he
derived his own origin from the Normans and knew that the French
race excelled all others in the glory of war'.[25] One recent study has
suggested that consciousness of separate Norman and Lombard iden-
tity remained significant, at least within the principality of Salerno,
until the later twelfth century. Other commentators, including the
present editor, remain unconvinced, and one might rather suggest
that the significance of Norman/French descent or identity was
already declining during the first third of the twelfth century, as
immigration from Normandy largely ceased and the forces of inter-
marriage and acculturation began to take effect.[26] Needless to say,
further examination of this problem is needed, looking in detail at
different regions of southern Italy, for it may well be that the pat-
tern varied from one area to another. One tool for this is how law
and custom actually worked in practice, above all in such issues as
marriage and inheritance, studied by Joanna Drell in this volume.

Certainly the new Norman rulers, even in those areas where they
were unequivocally in charge, did not rely exclusively upon men of
their own ethnic group. There was never that virtually complete
take-over of the upper ranks of society that took place in England
under William the Conqueror; in southern Italy the invaders were
never numerous enough nor strong enough. Some local aristocrats,
like the Borells and the Counts of Aquino, were never dislodged.
And, just as in England, they required native collaborators to assist
them, and especially to staff the lower reaches of their administra-
tion. One of the signs of the strength of the indigenous tradition was
the tenacious survival in the former Lombard areas of the local
Beneventan script, both as a book hand in ecclesiastical, especially
monastic, *scriptoria* and as a notarial hand in private charters. As
Horst Enzensberger shows, even where those writing documents in
the chanceries of the new rulers employed the imported minuscule
script, they themselves might well be natives, as with Urso, the prin-
cipal notary of Robert Guiscard, and Grimoald, who fulfilled the
same function for Guiscard's son, Duke Roger Borsa, from 1086
until 1102. Both Enzensberger and von Falkenhausen demonstrate
how much close study of the surviving documentation can reveal to

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[25] *Falcandus*, 6 [English translation, *Tyrants*, 58].
[26] Drell (1999), however, cf. Loud (2000a), 278–90.

us, not just of the workings of the central and local administrations, but of how south Italian society changed after the Norman conquest—although not necessarily as a result of that conquest. The Church was another area where one might conclude that the Norman impact was relatively limited.[27] Norbert Kamp's prosopographical survey of the south Italian episcopate over some two centuries shows conclusively that, despite the evidential problems to which he draws attention, a variety of different influences, both internal and external, played their part in changing the leadership of the local Church. One cannot separate what was going on within the Church in the *regno* from wider developments within Christendom— that is clear also from Herde's study—and at times, especially after the death of Robert Guiscard and once again after that of the Empress Constance in 1198, papal involvement had an effect both on the appointment of individual prelates and on the overall calibre of the episcopate, as also did cultural changes within Christendom as a whole. Yet other factors were more localised—the impact of great monasteries like Montecassino, the clientage network of ambitious ecclesiastical careerists like Walter of Pagliaria, and the foundation of the University of Naples by Frederick II. Kamp was characteristically modest in pointing out the problems of his method, and the high proportion of sees and bishops about whom we can discern little or nothing. (The suppression of sees, in Apulia in the early modern period and throughout the mainland south in the early nineteenth century, caused a disastrous attrition of cathedral archives). Yet Kamp's prosopography of the episcopate was based upon a huge range of documentation, published and unpublished, and represents a monumental achievement, of which the essay published here is but a small part.

These studies focus very much on the structure of, and developments within, the society of Norman Italy—and to some extent also of the Staufen kingdom that followed. There is very little concern here with the *histoire des événements*, for the political history both of the conquest and of the twelfth-century kingdom is reasonably well covered elsewhere, and to some extent at least in English. What we have sought to provide here is a reflection of the growing concern among Continental scholars with the social history of the *regno*. This tendency has been especially apparent in the series of biennial conferences

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[27] Cf. here Loud (1992), and Loud (2000a), 260–78, for discussion of this issue.

held since 1973 by the *Centro di studi normanno-svevi* of the University of Bari, in which some of the most interesting recent studies of Norman Italy have been presented. The early conferences each focussed on a period, such as the age of Robert Guiscard (no. I) or that of Roger II (no. III), and while the agenda was never exclusively political, there was a strong political and institutional focus. Since 1987 each conference has had a clear theme relating to south Italian society, as 'Man and the environment' (VIII), 'land and men' (IX), or 'centres of cultural production' (XII). In this present collection we have also sought to provide studies of aspects of eleventh- and twelfth-century south Italian history which have hitherto received little attention in English. It is somewhat ironic that the one contribution to this volume that stands somewhat apart from the others is my own, on the relations of the papacy with the rulers of southern Italy. Yet while more overtly 'political' in its approach than the other studies, and on an issue which has received probably more than its fair share of scholarly attention, it seemed both that the subject was too important to omit, and that there was still a need for a wide-ranging and up-to-date general survey over the whole of the 'Norman' period. Most of the relevant documents have long been available to scholars, but there is much still to be gained by careful analysis.

That is of course true for all the chapters here, but the question of documentation is an important one, for the scale of the contemporary evidence surviving from Norman Italy is far larger than those unfamiliar with the field might suppose. Admittedly, the narrative sources are relatively few, certainly as compared with the number available from Anglo-Norman and Angevin England, or Salian and Staufen Germany. There are periods for which we have relatively little chronicle evidence, or even much in the way of brief annals, notably the early 1100s and the last decade of King William II's reign, while Geoffrey Malaterra is the only one among contemporary historical writers to tell us much about Calabria.[28] But for all the archival losses of more recent periods, including the destruction of almost the entire contents of the Naples State Archive in 1943, we still possess a very large number of eleventh to thirteenth

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[28] There are occasional saints' lives from Calabria, in Greek, as that of St. Philaretos in the eleventh century, and those of St. Bartholomew of Rossano and St. Lucas of Isola Capo Rizzuto in the early twelfth, although this type of literature was more abundant in the pre-Norman period.

century charters from southern Italy. While a great many of these are now in print, especially from Apulia, there are also some very substantial and important sources of new evidence, surviving in manuscript and as yet unpublished, which can deepen our knowledge and understanding of the subject. For the mainland, this unpublished evidence largely derives from the great Benedictine monasteries. Laurent Feller's studies of the Abruzzi have drawn heavily on the chartulary-chronicle of St. Clement of Casauria (Paris, B.N. MS. Lat. 5411), a huge manuscript containing some 2000 documents, of which only a fraction have been published, mostly by Muratori in the early eighteenth century. The chapters in this book by Joanna Drell and Patricia Skinner both use a number of unpublished twelfth-century charters from the abbey of Holy Trinity, Cava, near Salerno—and Professor Drell's forthcoming book will be one of the first publications fully to exploit that rich resource. The Cava archives contain more than 3500 documents from the twelfth century, and just over 2000 from the thirteenth, of which only a small proportion have been published. They represent not just an important source for the history of the abbey, or the local Church, but for the social and economic history of the principality of Salerno. Similarly the (as yet virtually unexplored) abbatial registers from both Cava and Montecassino are key sources for the history of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and there are also several thousand unpublished documents, from the eleventh century onwards and primarily of monastic provenance, in the Museo del Sannio at Benevento.[29] For the island of Sicily, the most exciting evidential discovery of recent years has been a substantial cache about a thousand pre-1500 documents (some 150 of which are in Greek) from Messina and its environs, in the archive of the Dukes of Medinaceli in Seville. These were removed to Spain in 1679 after the suppression of a serious revolt at Messina.[30] Vera von Falkenhausen has been one of the first scholars to make extensive use this new resource, the importance of which can be seen from her chapter in this collection. Documents from the Medinaceli archive will also greatly enhance the value of the soon to be forthcoming book by Jeremy Johns on the twelfth-century royal administration of Sicily. Dr Johns is also about to publish important editions and translations of the Arabic *dīwānī* documents

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[29] For those which pertain to St. Sophia, Benevento, Loud (1991), 370–3.
[30] Brühl (1978b), especially 562–3.

and private charters, and, in collaboration with Alex Metcalfe, a crit-
ical edition of the royal Monreale registers of lands and men.

Finally, some guidance is necessary as to the availability of pub-
lished textual editions, and the references to them in this collection.
Footnotes have, where possible, been standardised to refer to the
most recent editions of narrative sources, but one should, for exam-
ple, note that there have been three competent editions of Peter of
Eboli's *Liber ad honorem Augusti* in the last century, and that the most
recent of these (in 1994) is not easily available, even in the princi-
pal academic libraries, in Britain and the U.S.A. Hence reference
has sometimes been made to the relatively widely available edition
by Siragusa (1906). However, some nineteenth-century editions, espe-
cially the (once widely-used) collection of Latin chronicles by Giuseppe
Del Re, are far from accurate and, if possible, best avoided.[31] Similarly,
there have been three editions of the laws attributed to King Roger,
by Brandileone (1884), Monti (1940, reprinted 1945) and Zecchino
(1984). Since the most modern edition is not generally available out-
side Italy, we have also used that by Gennaro Maria Monti, which
is.[32] It should be noted in passing that Ménager's argument that the
earlier of the two versions of these laws (in Cod. Vat. Lat. 8782)
ought not be identified as the text of the so-called 'Assizes of Ariano',
the laws whose promulgation in 1140 was mentioned by the chron-
icler Falco of Benevento, is now generally accepted, even if his fur-
ther contention that this collection was actually compiled in the early
thirteenth century is far less plausible.[33] References to the indis-
pensable *Liber Augustalis* of Frederick II have been standardised to
the recent MGH edition, as well as to the English translation by
James Powell. A complete edition of the royal charters from the
twelfth century, the *Codex Diplomaticus Regni Siciliae*, has been under
way for some twenty years, but is as yet incomplete. What have
been published so far are the Latin charters of Roger II, and the
documents of William I, Tancred and William III, and of the Empress
Constance. Horst Enzensberger's edition of the charters of William
II, of which there are some 250 extant, is eagerly awaited. So too
is the eventual publication of the documents of the pre-1127 Dukes

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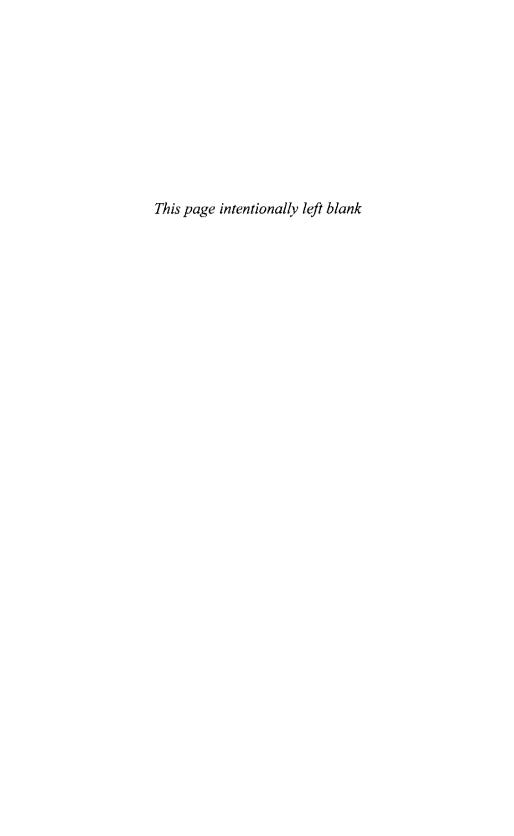[31] G. Del Re, *Cronisti e scrittori sincroni napoletani*, 2 vols. (Naples 1845–65).
[32] Monti (1945), 114–84, reprinted from *Studi in onore di Carlo Calisse*, Milan, 1940,
i.295–348.
[33] Ménager (1969), *Falco*, 234. See, for example, Houben (1999), 172–9.

of Apulia, and those of Roger I of Sicily, a project left incomplete when their editor, Leon-Robert Ménager died in 1993. The edition of the 105 known documents of Roger I will be especially welcome, given that those previously edited have been published in widely scattered places, in publications often unobtainable outside Italy, and that many of the texts present serious evidential problems.[34]
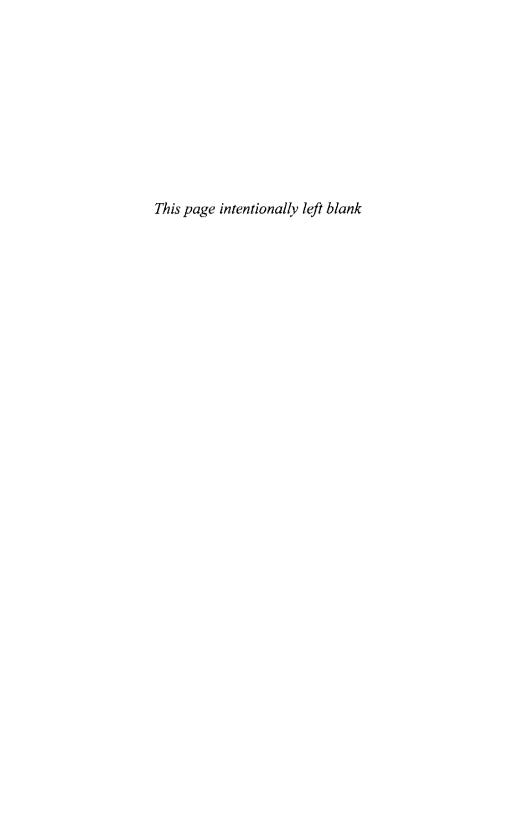
The student of Norman Italy and Sicily thus faces a challenging, and often difficult, field, but one in which there are exciting possibilities for further research. There are many subjects still to be explored, and many sources still to be exploited, but the publication of this collection of essays should provide food for thought, both for those discovering the Norman *regno* for the first time, and (we hope) even for those who already know it well, but wish to consider new and stimulating insights.

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[34] Ménager's *Nachlass* has been entrusted to J.-M. Martin for the completion of these editions.

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SOCIAL AND REGIONAL STRUCTURES
ON THE SOUTH ITALIAN MAINLAND

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SETTLEMENT AND THE AGRARIAN ECONOMY

Jean-Marie Martin[1]

In societies with traditional and essentially subsistence economies, the development of agricultural production is intimately linked with demographic change. As such, the first factor to consider in this chapter is the evolution of the population. Of course, we cannot give any population figures for the period in question, but the major trends and long-term variations are clear enough. The Middle Ages in southern Italy, as in the rest of the western world and especially in all regions north of the Mediterranean, can be divided into three phases, and these are perhaps seen more clearly here than anywhere else. In the sixth and seventh centuries, plague was probably responsible for a considerable decrease in the population even if its effects were reinforced by other factors to which we will return later. The population recovery began slowly in the eighth and ninth centuries and then gained momentum, especially in the eleventh century. The population continued to rise to the extent that the thirteenth century was a period of comparative overpopulation. Finally, this long period of growth was interrupted by the Black Death of 1348. In addition, one may note that, from at least the twelfth century, agricultural production grew faster than did the number of producers. So southern Italy was not only able to feed a growing population of its own, but it also became a major exporter of foodstuffs to the cities of northern and central Italy.[2] From this, we can safely infer the impact of technical progress, as for example, in animal harnessing and crop rotation, even though the direct evidence for this is very poor.

Such phenomena are relatively independent from political change. Indeed, there was no real 'Norman' phase in the history of the agrarian economy of southern Italy. Nevertheless, the growth in agriculture reached its peak during the Norman period, and it is notable that it was not accompanied by any perceptible increase in manufacturing production, as was the case in northern and central Italy.

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[1] Translated from the French by Gérard Héry and the editors.
[2] Abulafia (1977).

This sector remained very limited in the south, even in textiles. Indeed, it never went beyond meeting the immediate needs of the local population. It should also be noted that the beginning of the growth in population was probably linked to structural changes which can be observed during the tenth century (see below), and that these occurred in a climate of political crisis. The upheavals that continued from the late tenth and through the eleventh centuries were linked to this general growth. Later, at the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries, the abundance of labour was not without its consequences for peasant life.

Nevertheless, one cannot isolate political history from this apparently straightforward picture. Although it was obviously not the reason for these fundamental changes, it did however inform and affect them. The crisis of the sixth and seventh centuries was, as we have said, a population crisis, and its main cause was probably the plague. However, in southern Italy it took a particularly serious turn. Numerous Roman cities were then definitively abandoned, especially in the plain of Campania and in the Tavoliere di Puglia.[3] After that time, this latter region remained virtually unpopulated until the end of the eleventh century. The explanation for these deep repercussions appears to be twofold. On the one hand, Roman southern Italy was characterised by a dense network of generally small, and hence vulnerable, cities. Secondly, the Lombard conquest, which began about 570 and coincided with the population crisis, probably wiped out the municipal aristocracy at the head of those cities and all the local administration with it. In particular, it is probable that the water control systems were then abandoned and so the plains reverted to marshland for several centuries thereafter.

We have a better idea of the impact of political organisation on changes in settlement in the eleventh and twelfth centuries due to evidence both from the archives and from archaeological excavations. The phenomenon known as *incastellamento*—that is the creation by local lords of small fortified villages—has been explored for the area around the abbey of St. Vincent on Volturno (Molise) by Mario Del Treppo, and more recently by Chris Wickham.[4] In addition, Pierre Toubert has established the fundamental importance of that

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[3] Mertens, ed. (1995).
[4] Del Treppo (1955), Wickham (1985) and (1995).

phenomenon for both the Lazio region and the Montecassino lands.[5] This *incastellamento* gave many regions of central and southern Italy the type of countryside which they have preserved into the twentieth century. As we shall see, *incastellamento* was closely linked to the decentralisation of political power and to the emergence of a seigneurial system which combined land-owning and public power. But in the tenth and eleventh centuries, such a fragmentation of power was only present in the Lombard principalities. In Byzantine Italy, the imperial administration gave a different orientation to the establishment of a stable settlement network that consisted essentially of fortified cities and open villages. Finally, the Norman conquest introduced political upheaval to every region of the south, which in turn influenced the settlement pattern, although the extent of that influence was dependent both on political factors and on the prevailing social structure in different areas.

In general, concentrated settlements formed the substratum of landscape and consequently of agricultural development. With time, wider and wider village-centred circles of cultivation appeared; first, gardens, then dry farming, and finally waste-land used for grazing and wood gathering. To this overall picture we must add that physical differences between regions gave rise to different capacities. From our point of view, one can roughly divide the land into three different types according to altitude: mountain, hill and plateau, and plain. The most favourable to human occupation were the hills, with comparatively light soil, although the limestone plateau of Apulia imposed some limitations because of its lack of water. The high mountains were obviously not fit for cultivation. The lower plains, often marshy and with heavy soil, had, as we said earlier, often been abandoned during the first centuries of the Middle Ages. Furthermore, because of its mountainous nature southern Italy has always had two contrasting sides. The west is rather wet, while the east is fairly dry. As we shall see, the mode of cultivation differed on each side. Finally, it is obvious that the Abruzzo, which is on the same latitude as Provence, and Sicily, which is on that of Tunisia, do not offer the same agricultural possibilities. In Sicily, the climate, plus the fact that the island was part of the Muslim world for two centuries, made it

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[5] Toubert (1973), 303–447, and (1976). For Montecassino, see also Loud (1994a), 55–8.

possible to grow exotic plants such as citrus fruits, date-palms and sugar cane, although the last two were abandoned when Frederick II expelled the Muslims who were the only ones able to grow them. However, the main factor that influenced how the countryside was organised on the mainland was the settlement pattern.

Settlement

The Normans were for the most part content to put their own finishing touches to a diversity of structures which their various pre-decessors had brought about, mostly since the tenth century. Hence, to understand why the settlement network under the Normans was different, a retrospective view is necessary, although one should note that not a great deal is known about settlement in these regions dur-ing late Antiquity. Of course, we have a reasonable idea of the net-work made up by the cities, which were generally modest in size, apart from a few exceptional cases such as ancient Capua (on the site of modern Santa Maria Capua Vetere, in the province of Caserta), Canosa and Taranto. From the fourth century onwards these cities were profoundly transformed, and abandoned their monumental, 'civic', aspect.[6] Nevertheless, they did not completely disappear. Furthermore, a number of non-city settlements became episcopal sees, such as Trani in Apulia and Tropea in Calabria. The crisis of the sixth and seventh centuries caused a number of these towns to disappear while the ones which survived were reduced in size and unable to exercise any specifically urban functions throughout the Dark Ages. Most episcopal sees had disappeared, even when the towns in which they were situated had survived. One notable excep-tion must however be cited, that of Naples. A focus of resistance to the Lombards, it had preserved—and still retains—the main features of its ancient town planning, occupying all the area within its walls. This vestige of Antiquity, split into *regiones* and divided by three par-allel main streets and a number of *vici* at right-angles, must have been the most important city of the western side of the peninsula during the first centuries of the Middle Ages.

We have some evidence for both small villages (*vici*) and isolated *villae* in existence during late Antiquity, but one can say nothing

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[6] Mertens, ed. (1995), 339 ff.

about either their number or their importance.[7] The density of the urban network implied in itself a limitation to interstitial concentrated settlement. However in Apulia there are a number of ninth century documents which show both some *vici*, and also some other places called by the *-anum* type of toponym, which may go back to Antiquity, but both types soon disappeared.[8] Indeed the major feature of the Dark Ages was the disappearance of a large number of settlements. Archaeology provides evidence for the existence of some sorts of villages as early as the sixth and seventh centuries.[9] In the ninth century, there appeared a few new fortified settlements, described variously as *oppida, castra* or *castella,* a few of which are named in the *History* by Erchempert of Benevento, written about 890. One such settlement was built on the site of Calvi in Campania. At the time when ancient Capua was abandoned, the family of gastalds who were in charge of that town founded first a fortified settlement called *Sicopolis,* and then a new city of Capua. This was a rare foundation in a plain, but it was protected by a meander of the River Volturno and benefited by presence of the ancient bridge of *Casilinum*.[10] In Apulia two fortified settlements appeared, Varano and Monte Sant'Angelo in the Gargano peninsula, although such new foundations remained rare. (By contrast, Lesina, appears to go back to the seventh century).[11]

Until the tenth century, the rural population seems to have been quite dispersed. That is the impression given, for example, by the eighth and ninth century documents copied in the *Chronicon Vulturnense.* The compiler of that chartulary, like the one who wrote the *Chronicon Casauriense,* could clearly see the break brought about by the *incastellamento* in the tenth century.[12] But the copyists did not, and could not, give a clear picture of the previous situation for two reasons; first because any dispersed mode of settlement is difficult to describe, and secondly because those who wrote the documents of the time were not interested in what the types of settlement actually were. The compilers of these chartularies did indeed devote a great deal

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[7] Volpe (1996).
[8] Martin (1993), 212–213.
[9] Peduto (1990). Noyé (1997), 1091.
[10] MGH *SS Rerum Langobardorum,* 231–64, especially 240, 250, 258–9. Cilento (1966), 84–9, 97–9.
[11] Martin (1993), 213–16.
[12] *Chron.* Vult. i.231, *Chron Casauriense,* 797–8; Toubert (1973), 87.

of attention to the property that their establishment had once pos-
sessed, but they were often unable to locate it. The *Chronicon S. Sophiae*
described a few ducal and princely demesnes of the eighth century,
sheltering a sparse and presumably dispersed population, together with
isolated (and private) churches which were supposed to help with the
pastoral care of the population. For its part, archaeology has found
it difficult to locate settlements which were often extremely limited
in size—a task made all the more problematic because of the uncer-
tainty surrounding the dating of early medieval ceramics. Nevertheless,
in every case, the tenth century marked a moment of fracture, which
was characterised by the creation of concentrated and stable settle-
ments. Of course, such a concentration of population did not occur
overnight. Rather, the process went on until the twelfth century and
was never a universal movement. There remained a dispersed type
of settlement whose importance was by no means negligible, but
henceforth land organisation would be centred on the villages.

This concentration of settlement in its practical aspects followed
political and economic demands. From the political point of view,
southern Italy on the eve of the Norman conquest was divided not
only between several different states, but also between several political
systems. Until the Norman conquest, the Abruzzo was in theory part
of the Franco/German kingdom of Italy. Not only was this region
geographically marginal, but it also had a decentralised system of
political power which rested with the families of counts, other secular
lords, and with the major abbeys. Indeed, this feature was typical
of the whole post-Carolingian world. The situation was relatively
similar in the three Lombard principalities of Benevento, Capua and
Salerno, which between them comprised the major part of the
Campania and Molise. These minor states, which were derived from
the Lombard duchy of Benevento that had refused to acknowledge
Charlemagne's sovereignty in 774, had preserved their original insti-
tutions and had remained impervious to Frankish influence. Thus they
ignored vassalage.[13] Their system of public authority was decentralised
into the hands of the counts in a quite radical way, especially from
the second half of the tenth century. At the same time, the two great
abbeys of St. Vincent on Volturno and Montecassino, which had
been destroyed by the Muslims in 881 and 883 respectively, rebuilt
their estates. They abandoned their most distant possessions, espe-

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[13] Martin (1981), 553–8.

cially those in Apulia in order to form a compact seigneury follow-
ing the example of the local counts.[14] There thus appeared the *Terra
S. Benedicti* and the *Terra S. Vincentii*. The monks tried hard, by means
of forged documents, to antedate the appearance of these lordships
to the eighth century. The example of these two abbeys is particu-
larly well-known because their early twelfth-century chartularies have
been preserved, and in the case of Montecassino, we have an exten-
sive archive of original documents as well.

The rest of the continental Mezzogiorno was officially under
Byzantine rule. One must, however, distinguish between several dif-
ferent manifestations of that rule. The small enclaves formed by the
Tyrrhenian coastal duchies of Naples, Amalfi and Gaeta, which had
resisted the Lombard conquest, had once constituted the Byzantine
duchy of Naples. This duchy had in practice detached itself from
the Empire in the middle of the eighth century, before breaking up
in the ninth. Those enclaves had preserved the institutions of the
Byzantine Exarchate, but had then undergone what is, from our
point of view, a western type of evolution.

By contrast, on the eve of the Norman conquest, Calabria and
Apulia, and the sparsely populated region of the Basilicata in between
them, were fully integrated into the Empire, even though the ear-
lier history of these respective areas had been rather different. Southern
Calabria and the extreme southern end of Salento had never ceased
to belong to the Empire, and most of their population were Greek-
speaking, in part because of immigration by Greeks from Eastern
Sicily.[15] Apulia, with a Lombard population, had been conquered by
the imperial army which had expelled the Muslims at the end of
the ninth century. These regions made up two *theme-s* (that is to say,
provinces with a military administration), namely the *theme* of Calabria
and that of Langobardia (Lombard Apulia), which had been reor-
ganised and rechristened as the Catepanate of Italy in the 960s. The
two provinces had very different social structures, an issue to which
we shall return. Sicily, which had been under Arab-Muslim rule since
the ninth century, had become a largely Muslim country, although
it retained a sizeable minority of Greek Christians in its eastern part.

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[14] Martin (1993), 296–299. Wickham (1995), 51, highlights the problems St.
Vincent on Volturno had in retaining control of its Abruzzo properties.
[15] Martin (1986). For a general survey (in English) of pre-Norman southern Italy,
see now Loud (2000a), 12–59.

The Norman conquest did finally achieve the unification of those dissimilar territories, but only very slowly. From our point of view, it came too late to play a major part in the settlement structure. The influence of the conquerors was visible mainly in the regions that had not yet been reoccupied. Nonetheless, the Norman period saw the completion of the settlement network, but for the most part it was the period between the tenth and the twelfth centuries which witnessed its creation, the different components of which we shall now try to analyse.

In the Lombard principalities practically all the documents at our disposal come from the two great abbeys of Montecassino and St. Vincent on Volturno, which, as territorial lords took an active part in the establishment of concentrated settlements. The relevant documents have been thoroughly studied by modern scholars, but in drawing conclusions one must take into account their partial nature. It is more than likely that the main promoters of the *incastellamento* movement were the counts, who have left no archives behind, and that the monasteries were content with imitating them with the help of the princes, who were hoping that by doing so they might curb the power of these counts. One presumes, for instance, that there was a link between the concession of the freehold of the county of Isernia to Count Landulf in 964 and that of the *ius munitionis* to the monastery of St. Vincent, the seigneury of which bordered the county, in 967. In this context, it is noteworthy that in 981 Otto II undertook to defend the monastery against the count, with regard to various disputed *castra*.[16]

One must also note that the movement seems to have begun earlier in the north-west, which was more populated and was nearer the Frankish part of Italy, only to expand later towards the east and south. The network of *castra* was unquestionably less compact and slower to appear in the principality of Salerno. It was, for example, only in 1123 that the abbey of Cava undertook to fortify the *castellum Sancti Angeli* in the Cilento.[17] In the Salerno region, where *coltura promiscua* was dominant, a high proportion of leases constrained peasants to build their wooden cottages on the plots allotted to them— a feature that proves the continued existence of a truly dispersed

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[16] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.393–394. *Chron. Vult.*, ii.162–164, 271–275. Martin (1981), 575.

[17] *Annales Cavenses, MGH, SS* iii.191. Loud (1987), 166–7. Loud (1996), 322–3.

population.[18] Near the Adriatic coast of Molise, documents confirm the existence of *castra* in the 1040s.[19] Many isolated churches still remained, but everywhere the *castrum* or fortified village was becoming the central element in the organisation of space. This is particularly evident in the way the fortified village is described in the documents. Whereas previously a given place was defined by means of a chain of territories enclosed one in the other, from the tenth century onwards, it was the name of the central settlement—whether city, *castrum* or even *casale* (an unfortified village)—which designated the whole dependent territory.

To understand the mechanics of *incastellamento*, one must turn to the documents that shed light on the monastic seigneuries of Montecassino and St. Vincent.[20] In 1057 a pontifical privilege in favour of Montecassino listed nineteen *castra* belonging to the abbey. Towards the end of the eleventh century there were about thirty, and in the early twelfth about forty, although some of these were already in existence when given to the abbey and not all were within the actual *Terra S. Benedicti* itself.[21] These *castra* had a double function, both economic and military, the military role being the most important in the case of those *castra* along the borders of the abbey lands. Indeed, in the eleventh century the abbots and the Norman conquerors competed in the construction of *castra* with a strategic function. But even in those cases one must not forget the other role that they fulfilled, namely the concentration of population and the restructuring of the landscape.

The chartulary of St. Vincent on Volturno gives a particularly clear view of the phenomenon, although recent archaeology has brought qualification to some of the features it suggests. Here the abbot concluded *livelli* with small groups of men, often connected by family links, who came to settle in a particular *castrum*. At times, the abbey used the services of real specialists in colonisation. In the oldest type of *livelli*, the choice of the site and its fortification seem to

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[18] E.g. *Cod. Dipl. Cavensis*, vi.142–3 no. 966 (1041), 264–6 no. 1041 (1044); vii.6–10 nos. 1061–2 (1046), 53–6 no. 1089, 70–2 no. 1100 (both 1047); viii.85–7 no. 1279 (1058).

[19] *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti* nos. 33, 41, 43, 44, 46, 61–3, 66.

[20] Del Treppo (1955), Toubert (1976), Wickham (1985), especially 235–43, Loud (1994a).

[21] MPL cxliii.831–3 = *Italia Pontificia*, viii.138–9 no. 79. Bloch (1986), i.171–207.

have been left to the settlers.[22] Later on, there were cases when the fortification was already there when the *livello* was drawn up. At Sant'Angelo in Theodice, in the *Terra S. Benedicti*, the abbot of Montecassino entrusted *magistri fabricatores* with its construction (in 966).[23]

According to the *Chronicon Vulturnense*, this movement began in the 940s, then gathered momentum in the third quarter of the tenth century and went on until the middle of the eleventh. As late as 1066, Abbot John V was constructing a *castrum* for fear of the Normans.[24] The time sequence was more or less the same for Montecassino. The movement began under Abbot Aligern (948–85) who restored the monastery in the middle of the tenth century, then continued until the middle of the eleventh, when it was greatly intensified because of the Normans in the decades 1040–1060.[25] In the case of St. Vincent, a reconsideration of the documents plus some archaeological research has led to qualifications being made about the method of *incastellamento*, although without putting into question the scale of the phenomenon.[26] This has also led to a distinction being made between the concentration of people and the fortification of sites. The creation of fortified settlements was in fact limited to the territories nearer to the monastery. In the western and southern part of the *Terra S. Vincentii*, there was never a systematic *incastellamento*. It sometimes appeared in two stages; thus the first collective *livello* copied in the *Chronicon* records the foundation of Santa Maria *Oliveto*, northwest of Venafro, in 939.[27] However, the settlement did not became a *castrum* until the second half of the eleventh century.[28]

The main source of information for the Abruzzo is the *Chronicon Casauriense*. The movement there began with the return of the monks to the mother house in the 960s, thereafter it followed more or less the same time schedule as elsewhere, but in this region it was apparently initiated by the abbey. The passage from the *curtis* to the *castrum* is clearly described in the chartulary.[29]

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[22] E.g. *Chron. Vult.* ii.239–42 (982), 308–10 (995), 310–13 (989).
[23] Text in Tosti (1842), i.223–6. Toubert (1976), 696.
[24] *Chron. Vult.* iii.101–103.
[25] Toubert (1976), 695–698. Loud (1994a), 57–8, Loud (1996), 320–1.
[26] Wickham (1985).
[27] *Chron. Vult.* ii.42–44.
[28] Wickham (1985), 250.
[29] Feller (1998), 211–303.

One can see, therefore, that in the territories of southern Italy which belonged politically to the western world, *incastellamento*, or the process by which the rural population came to be concentrated in small fortified villages, often perched on ridges or hilltops, was a universal phenomenon at the time of the emergence of the seigneury.

It is probable that there were deliberate attempts to found at least a few new towns in those regions which had lost so many. As early as the eighth century, the first prince of Benevento, Arichis II, extended the area of his capital city by adding a *civitas nova* to the *civitas vetus*. In the same way, he extended the size of Salerno, which became a secondary capital with its own palace.[30] At the heart of the *incastellamento* period in 988, the princes of Benevento Pandulf II and Landulf V conceded to a certain Count Poto the destroyed 'city' of Greci (in the province of Avellino) to be restored and to build on its territory *castra vel firmitates*. The intention was to make Greci into a city, the centre of a territory sheltering several *castella*, but in fact it became a *castrum* no larger than the others.[31] The same thing happened to Volturara Appula (in the province of Foggia), promoted to become the seat of a bishop at some stage after 969, and similarly to other *castra* in this area such as Trivento and Termoli. The Lombard princes and counts did not have at their disposal the necessary political and material means to create real towns.

The Tyrrhenian duchies, although theoretically under Byzantine overlordship, went through an evolution which was not very different from that of the Lombard principalities. Around 980, the duke of Gaeta created quasi-apanages, and in the years 1030–40 the political fragmentation of the duchy had become complete.[32] In Naples, the evolution appears to have been the same.[33] The Amalfitan territory was too small to be fragmented and the *castra* denomination here was rare. Nevertheless, in 1025 it was admitted that the duchy was made up of the territories of its various *castella*.[34] But the duchies remained clearly different from the Lombard country because they had preserved a number of ancient cities (Cuma, Pozzuoli, Miseno, Atella, Nola), as well as settlements which had begun as places of refuge,

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[30] Delogu (1977), 13–69.
[31] Martin (1981), 578.
[32] Guiraud (1982), 491–494. Skinner (1995), 149–56.
[33] Schipa (1892–1894).
[34] *Codice Perris*, i.122–9 no. 81.

replacing more exposed classical sites at the beginning of the Middle Ages—Gaeta, Traetto (nowadays Minturno) and Amalfi. Moreover, because they once again played this role as a refuge at the time of the Norman conquest, they appear to have kept a higher population density, and generally speaking, they seem to have been less affected by *incastellamento*. In Liburia, the northern part of the duchy of Naples in a region which was known in the Late Middle Ages as the *casali di Napoli* and where the Neapolitan and Lombard rights and claims were combined, the common type of settlement remained open and appears to have been quite dispersed.[35] In the duchy of Gaeta, a region which has been thoroughly studied, the relative permanence of settlement between the ninth and tenth centuries is well documented—out of the twenty-nine settlements documented in the ninth century, half persisted in the tenth. Places of settlement became more numerous thereafter, but *castra* did not appear before c. 1000. During the eleventh century, the eight *castra* and cities had become the centres around which the territory of the duchy was organised, but open settlements continued to grow in numbers.[36]

The situation was noticeably different in the two *theme-s* governed by the Byzantine imperial administration. As in the rest of the Empire, its agents resided in walled cities (*kastron, astu*) and the state had means to build them—the existence of the statutory labour service called *kastroktisia* has been documented in Apulia at the end of the tenth and in the eleventh centuries. But the rural population did not normally need protection and lived in open villages.[37]

During the two centuries when Byzantium governed a large part of southern Italy, three distinct phases of construction of new towns can be discerned, while the population rise naturally led to a need for more numerous administrative centres. The first phase came at the end of the ninth century, immediately after the Byzantine conquest of Apulia and the reconquest of Calabria. It was then that, in Apulia in particular, new ports appeared such as Monopoli and Polignano, and slightly later Giovinazzo and Molfetta. In Calabria, new episcopal sees were founded in the Sila region (Umbriatico, Cerenzia and Isola Capo Rizzuto) as well as Nicastro (*Neokastron*). The second stage apparently coincided with the reorganisation of

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[35] Martin (1992), 273.
[36] Guiraud (1982), 501–8.
[37] Martin & Noyé (1989), Martin & Noyé, (1991), Martin (1993), 258–272.

the *theme* of Langobardia in the mid-tenth century, when it became the catepanate of Italy. The aim of these new foundations was to give the beginning of an administrative network to the sparsely populated regions of western Apulia and Basilicata. Among the new settlements were Gravina, Minervino, Montemilone, Tricarico and Tursi. In the more remote regions, the same movement saw the emergence of small but fortified settlements called *kastellia*. Though they were intended to serve as administrative centres, their size was not visibly distinct from that of ordinary villages. Examples include San Chirico Raparo, Noepoli, Palagiano and Massafra. It was also at this period that Taranto, which had been practically abandoned, was once again fortified.[38] Some of the smaller cities of Northern Apulia, such as Vaccarizza (where archaeological excavation is now in progress), may also date back from that period. The third campaign of new foundations took place mainly in the hilly region next to the Tavoliere of northern Apulia at the beginning of the eleventh century under the authority of the Catepan Basilios Boioannes (hence the name of Capitanata which was later to be given to this region). Its aim was to create a double line of fortifications along the Lombard border and to reclaim the plain marshland. It was then that Civitate, Dragonara, Fiorentino, Montecorvino, Tertiveri, Biccari, Troia, Cisterna and Melfi were founded. Those towns, mostly situated on narrow spurs, were built according to a common pattern of a main street crossed by perpendicular alleys.[39] About the same time, Calabria saw the birth of Catanzaro, Oppido and perhaps Stilo.

If, in a study of the agrarian economy, emphasis is put on these new urban foundations, it is because in the mind of the imperial authorities these new administrative centres went with or before the settlement of a neighbouring rural population. Thus, their establishment reveals the pattern that the authorities intended with regard to settlement. The reclamation of the Basilicata, limited as this always was, was therefore in preparation at the end of the tenth century. Similarly, the reclamation of the Tavoliere, although completed under the Normans, was undertaken at the beginning of the eleventh century and began in the adjoining hills.

As in the neighbouring regions, rural settlement was fuelled by demographic growth. Moreover, the tendency of such settlement was

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[38] Jacob (1988). More generally for this paragraph, Martin (1993), 258–72.
[39] Martin & Noyé (1982), especially 517–20.

towards concentration and stabilisation. The starting point in Apulia was no different from that described for the Lombard principalities, but the movement did not end up in a real *incastellamento* simply because the political framework there was different. Most of the new villages were open ones and were originally to be found in the two most densely populated regions—southern Calabria and the middle part of the Apulian coast, around Bari.[40]

In southern Calabria, there appear to have been actual villages (*choria*) as early as the end of the ninth century. Unfortunately, these are only casually documented in hagiographical sources.[41] However, they seem to have grown in number from the end of the tenth century. The chartulary of Oppido cathedral names a number of them in the region of Salinai and one of them, *Boutzanon*, was equipped with a defensive tower (*pyrgos*). Even today, central Apulia (Puglia) around Bari can be distinguished from the neighbouring regions by a particularly concentrated type of settlement, due particularly to the rarity of water sources on the limestone plateau. There, the villages were, under Byzantine rule, mostly open, but some of them developed into—or tried to become—towns. Besides these, some very small settlements can also be found, but their numbers tended to diminish over time.

Elsewhere, apart from these two regions, Byzantine rule saw the beginnings of land reclamation, but only a start to the process. On the hills of the Capitanata, in the Basilicata and in northern Calabria little is known about the rural population, which was reduced in number and was not well documented. In the Capitanata, as in the eighth century, one notes a few isolated churches. In Basilicata, the small *kastellia* already mentioned must have sheltered a mainly rural population. On the gulf of Taranto, archaeological finds have shown that Torre di Mare and Scribla were relatively small, open settlements, although equipped with a tower.[42] In the extreme north east of Calabria, a deed of 1015 mentions a private *kastellion* equipped with an *exokastellion*, which must have been used as a sanctuary for the rural population.[43] But in these regions, the real population expansion only started under the Normans.

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[40] Martin & Noyé (1989), 566–575.
[41] Noyé (1998), 234–235.
[42] Héricher-Flambard (1994).
[43] Trinchera, *Syllabus*, p. 15 no. 15.

The Norman conquest began at a time when the concentration of population had already transformed the human geography of southern Italy. The conquerors thus only pursued a movement that had started before their arrival, albeit sometimes in a new way. However the Norman period did coincide with the re-population of the flat coastland that had so far remained empty. In the Tavoliere, practically all the settlement network goes back to the Norman period. Finally, the political upheaval brought about by the conquest imposed a seigneurial system everywhere. For most of the time, this system was politically self-governing (except in southern Calabria and in Sicily), even in regions that had previously been Byzantine.

We have suggested that in the former Lombard principalities the anarchy of the conquest had led to a resurgence of *incastellamento*. On the boundaries of Byzantine Apulia, soon to be conquered by the Normans from their base at Melfi, the birth of numerous fortified villages is also well documented, and is an indication of the emergence of new local powers.[44] Moreover, some open villages were fortified at this same time. The new seigneurial power led to the construction of a castle, as a fortified residence, on the outskirts of a number of settlements, in particular in the cities of Byzantine origin, but this phenomenon is beyond the limits of the present study.

Finally, some new rural settlements appeared in the Norman period. These were generally small with little protection, sometimes just a ditch. Contemporary texts call such villages *casalia* (singular *casale*), a word already used in the eighth and ninth centuries to refer to tenements or small demesnes, and which was later also used for the smaller rural settlements of Sicily of Arab origins (*manzil* or *rahl*). The word *casale* reappeared in the continental south to designate the new type of village. It seems that population growth made possible the emergence in many places of these concentrated, but interstitial, settlements. However, it was in less populated regions that the *casalia* appeared in large numbers, for example in northern Calabria around the monastery of S. Maria della Matina, or in the Tavoliere, the re-population of which had just begun.

Of course, such *casalia* were often unable to resist the aristocratic feuds (*guerra*) of the first third of the twelfth century, a warfare that led to the speedy disappearance of a number of new population centres, especially in the Capitanata. But, for the lords, the *casale* must

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[44] Martin (1993), 277–282.

have represented the cheapest way to reclaim new territories in which they carved out large personal demesnes. In the Tavoliere, the network of *casalia*, which constituted the only type of settlement in this region, soon differentiated itself. Some, such as San Lorenzo *in Carminiano* became *castra* relatively quickly.[45] Foggia, presumably born at the end of the eleventh century, had a hundred years later become a real town, surrounded with suburbs, and trying in vain to become an episcopal see and to vindicate its independence from the Bishop of Troia. The latter was a city of late Byzantine origin but was now smaller than Foggia. Indeed, in the thirteenth century Frederick II chose Foggia as his principal residence and made it into a quasi-capital.[46]

At the end of the Norman period, the network of concentrated settlements was practically complete and covered the whole of the region. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed the foundation of only a few more settlements, situated either on the coast or in marginal regions not really favourable to agriculture. One example was Altamura on the high limestone plateaux of the Murge, founded in the time of Frederick II.[47] One should add that, as early as the thirteenth but still more in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Capitanata lost a large proportion of its settlements, in particular due to the resurgence of an important transhumance route between the Abruzzo and the Tavoliere, which completely transformed the local economy. Such a desertion has, however, greatly assisted the archaeological study of medieval human settlement.

Social structures

One can see that various factors behind the multiplication of concentrated settlements between the tenth and twelfth centuries were largely dependent on the prevailing social and political structures. In the Lombard principalities as in Byzantine Apulia (which was anyway until the ninth century part of the principality of Benevento), the transition of the ninth and tenth centuries represented the end of the *curtis* system and of rural slavery. The mode of production

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[45] Mentioned for the first time in 1092, it was a *castrum* by 1180, *Les Chartes de Troia (1024–1266)*, ed. J.-M. Martin (*Cod. Dipl. Pugliese* xxi, 1976), 135–6 no. 28, 291–3 no. 98.

[46] *Ibid.*, 67–72, and for the dispute, 334–8 nos. 114–15 (1194).

[47] Martin (1995a).

was transformed, but followed different directions in different areas.

In the Lombard principalities, compact seigneuries were created through princely concession or by usurpation. The lord (lay or clerical) was henceforth the beneficiary of public rights, not only that of building fortifications, as we have seen, but also of levying taxes and public duties on free men, who became the lord's *defensi*.[48] At the same time, lords conceded to the peasants a large part of their own demesne lands by means of *livello* contracts. The *Chronicon Vulturnense* has preserved a series of such leases for the period 940–1070 and these were not just intended for the construction of *castra*. They were often contracts of reclamation in which the tenant was exempt from rent (often a set sum) during the early years of the lease. Where it was in kind—as a share-cropping agreement (*champart*)—its rate was low on cereals, usually one tenth, and high on wine, sometimes as much as a half.[49] In addition, a large number of individual contracts have also been preserved in the archives of the Campanian abbeys of Cava and Montevergine. Some of them were contracts for the plantation (*pastinatio*) of all or part of the land conceded. Among these, some made the tenant the owner of half the conceded land (*pastinatio in partem*). Most of the time they imposed a *champart*, a type of render which was more suitable in a period of growth. However, the proportion of monetary rents tended to rise towards the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries.[50]

The Tyrrhenian duchies followed an evolution similar to that of the Lombard principalities. But in the formerly Lombard, and then the Byzantine province of Apulia, the evolution was strikingly original.[51] We have already noted that, in spite of the benevolent attitude of the imperial authorities, the major abbeys of Campania and Molise had practically abandoned their possessions in this region, initially at the time of the Muslim wars of the late ninth century, but above all when they formed a compact *terra* around the monastery itself, towards the middle of the tenth century. On the other hand, Apulia had comparatively few cathedrals, and their estates were only

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[48] Martin (1990), 305–309.

[49] E.g. *Chron. Vult.* ii.196–200 (978), 200–3 (980), 204–10 (973), 297–301 (1000); iii.58–62 (1041).

[50] Andreolli (1989), 119–27, Vitolo (1990), 83–5, and Loud (1996), 318–19, provide some discussion of this issue. For monetary rents, Vitolo (1974), especially 79–96.

[51] Martin (1993), 293–301.

fully established in the Norman period. Lastly, the large princely
demesnes completely disappear from the available documents. There
thus appeared a society of small middle-size landowners—an extremely
rare feature on the territory of the Byzantine empire, as indeed in
the whole Western world—and one to which the Norman seigneury
would find it hard to adapt itself.

However, in southern Calabria, which had remained under Byzan-
tine rule throughout the early Middle Ages, the situation was quite
different. There, the extensive estates owned by churches are easily
perceptible. In the middle of the eleventh century, the metropolitan
cathedral of Reggio owned two hundred and eighty-one parcels of
demesne land (*proasteia*) and enjoyed the public revenue of seven
exempt villages.[52] At the time of the Normans, the presence of vast
seigneurial demesnes confirms the existence of large estates during
the Byzantine period. Moreover, the Norman lords of Calabria owned
a large number of hereditary villeins (*villani, anthropoi*), who owed
them labour and taxes.[53] We can only assume they were the suc-
cessors of the *paroikoi* of the Byzantine period, who were hereditary
dependants with a variable status of which we know very little.

One can see that the Norman conquerors were confronted with
widely different local situations, to which the seigneury had to adapt
itself. In the Lombard counties where it was already in existence,
the Normans were apparently content simply to reinforce its bannal
aspects, notably seigneurial rights of justice and the exaction of labour
services—and in fact a surprisingly high proportion of the seigneuries
remained in the hands of Lombards.[54] In contrast, in the previously
Byzantine regions, the Normans practically provided all the higher
aristocracy, although a few Lombards from Apulia and Greeks from
Calabria managed to infiltrate the lower strata of that aristocracy.
In southern Calabria, where the supreme authority of the count of
Sicily, Roger I, and then (in the early twelfth century) Roger II, set
strict limits to the public rights of the lords, the seigneury rested
both on the vast landed demesnes and on the presence therein of
villeins. In central Apulia, the situation was entirely different—the
lack of available land reduced the lords' demesnes to the minimum,

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[52] *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Règion (vers 1050)*, ed. A. Guillou (Vatican
City 1974) (*Corpus des actes grecs d'Italie du Sud et de Sicile*, 4).
[53] Loud (1988), 226–7.
[54] Loud (1996), 323–333.

so that in compensation they extended their public rights: the recu-
peration of escheats, *banalités* imported from France, and special pro-
tection given to the *affidati*, the peasants who paid specific taxes to
the seigneur.[55]

But in Capitanata where they undertook their own reclamation
of waste-land, the lords, with the foundation of *casalia*, carved out
demesnes for themselves which, in the beginning, they farmed by
means of statutory peasant labour services, the level of which var-
ied according to the existence and the importance of draft cattle.
Later, the lord seems not only to have levied such labour from his
own peasants, but also to have recruited salaried temporary work-
ers who, on church estates, came for the harvest in particular. In
the thirteenth century, such statutory labour was given the name of
startia.[56] This word, whose etymology remains obscure, appeared in
the region of Capua at the end of the eleventh century to designate
a large field usually for cereals and situated in the lord's demesne.
Later, it spread with the same meaning to the Capitanata—an indi-
cation of the revival of the lords' demesne economy in the north-
ern and western part of the kingdom.[57]

Generally speaking, such statutory labour services seem to have
become more frequent in those northern and western parts of the
kingdom (Campania, Molise, Abruzzo) at the end of the twelfth and
thirteenth centuries.[58] Such a rise in the demesne and labour system
was very similar to that which was taking place in the England at
this time. One assumes that the lords were thus trying (and not with-
out success) to gain a footing in a production—mostly of cereals—
which was then finding increasingly numerous outlets, thanks to the
development of commercial networks. In these regions, the peasants
became characterised not by the scale of their possessions or by the
importance of their draft cattle, but by the fact that they were, or
were not, submitted to enforceable labour services. The exaction of

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[55] Martin (1993), 301–324.

[56] *Le Cartulaire de S. Matteo di Sculgola en Capitanate (Registro dei instrumenti di S. Maria
del Gualdo) (1177–1239)*, ed. J.-M. Martin (*Cod. Dipl. Pugliese* xxx, Bari 1987), 435–8
no. 252, at 437 (1220), 471–3 no. 271, at 472 (1222/3).

[57] E.g. *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.231–5 no. 49 (1097), Richard II of Capua confirmed
the property of the monastery of St. Lawrence, Aversa, including a *startia* given by
Thomas de Venabulo. Cf. the *Startia Buccaporcu* in *Cartulaire de S. Matteo di Sculgola*,
303–5 no. 169 (1209).

[58] Feller (1985), 180–1.

this sort of labour service probably had most effect on the inhabitants of the *casalia*—places which were not important enough to have codified the duties of those who dwelt there by means of customary rights. We must also remember that the continuous population growth, a phenomenon which had once been favourable to peasants, was no longer so at the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth centuries, by which time the abundance of labour obviously favoured the lords.

This series of changes concerning production conditions occurred within a phase of uninterrupted growth. In the thirteenth century, the fact that all the available land was being used and that demand, both internal and external, continued to grow, gives the impression of an impending crisis. Attempts were now being made to reclaim less fertile land. Hence Altamura was founded in the highest part of the Murge in Apulia during the reign of Frederick II, while cultivation on burnt out land became common in the mountains of Campania in the thirteenth century.[59] Overpopulation, along with over-exploitation of the soil, produced minor ecological catastrophes such as floods and shifting river beds.[60] Such was the ultimate phase in the reclamation movement, which had transformed and humanised the landscape between the tenth and the twelfth centuries, as it had done in the rest of Europe too.

Agricultural production and techniques

The principal sources at our disposal to write the history of agricultural production as well as its techniques and results, are private deeds, particularly agrarian contracts. In addition, there are many other documents that registered land transactions which are useful. Clearly, however, they were not written for our benefit or to allow us to know about agricultural production. In particular, they omit information such as the dates and modes of land tilling, which, in the eyes of those who knew about such things (in practice nearly everybody at the time), were self-evident and did not need to be spelled out. All that such documents tend to say about these issues is that they should occur *apto tempore*, or still *ubi meruerit*. When the notaries wrote out these deeds, the mode of description of the plot and of

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[59] Martin (1990), 324.
[60] Martin & Noyé (1989), 583–584. Martin (1995a), 130–131.

its environment, and hence of the landscape, followed several different cultural and institutional traditions. Indeed, the very system of description varied from one region to another.[61] In Naples, where memories of the ancient cadastral system and of Roman centuriation were still alive, a distinction was made between the long and short dimensions (*latera* and *capita*) of rectangular fields, and officials still seemed able, like the ancient *agrimensores*, to work out the area of a field simply by measuring its sides. In other regions, they were content with the enumeration of opposite pairs of dimensions. Thus, in the Capitanata, a region of open fields, the common practice was to give the measurement of each side, but without trying to calculate the area from that. By contrast, in the Salerno region, the plot of land was defined by a description of its perimeter in a continuous way, and in the region around Naples the practice was simply to give an estimate of the area, generally in *modii* (one *modius* measuring about 1.28 hectares). Hence, the documents give us a culturally-orientated description, which makes it impossible to establish strict comparison between one place and another. Furthermore, the *curiales* who in Naples and Amalfi assumed the role played elsewhere by notaries and employed a different vocabulary in their descriptions to that used by the Lombard notaries of neighbouring regions. The most detailed deeds were agrarian contracts, which, although numerous in Campania, were practically non-existent in Apulia where, the Capitanata apart, small plots of property were the rule. Most of the other regions offer generally poor documentary sources.

As we have seen, Campania and Apulia present great contrasts, owing to the differences in climate, and consequently differences in cultural modes. Apulia, with its dry climate and the predominance of limestone plateaux, offered a rather limited range of products: cereals, vines, olives and a few varieties of fruit (principally figs, almonds and pears).[62] The main tree cultivation, that of the olive, concerned a tree which, although not strictly-speaking indigenous, could grow wild on the lower limestone plateaux. Cereals were limited to wheat and winter barley, and were generally kept separate from the olives. One could, of course, have grown cereals under olive trees, but the climate was generally too dry to allow a real *coltura promiscua*.

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[61] Martin (1999).
[62] Martin (1993), 331.

In Campania, where the olive was comparatively rare before the thirteenth century, arboriculture involved genuinely indigenous species— chestnut, hazelnut, walnut and various fruit trees. The common pattern included selective forest reclamation, notably for the chestnut. For cereals, there was a greater variety, and cultivation also included various leguminous crops, together with flax and hemp. Finally, *coltura promiscua* was practised in its most classic form. Vines grew up the trees (*arbustum vitatum*) planted on the same plot, while in the particularly hilly region of Amalfi trees were often replaced by posts (*pergola*), planted at regular intervals. Cereals were then sown under the trees and vines. Agrarian contracts distinguished between the 'upper' and 'lower' products (grapes and fruit as opposed to cereals and linseed), and these were liable to different duties, which were much heavier on the former. The notion of *terroir*, a set of fields bearing the same crops, was not so clear in Campania. In Calabria one might find examples of both systems, depending on which part of the region one was studying.

The growth in production appeared in many ways. It was of course geographically orientated through the network of concentrated settlements. In addition, the rise of production and exchange favoured a certain amount of specialisation, at least in the best-adapted regions of production. At the same time, agricultural techniques were improving. Thus, in the twelfth century, some of the leguminous crops, which had long been grown in Campania, also appeared in Apulia. In the thirteenth century, a triennial crop rotation (wheat, winter barley, fallow) was sometimes practised in this same region, although the most common rhythm probably remained biennial. It is impossible to detect technical progress if the deeds failed to register it, but one must assume that it did occur, and the impression remains that it was similar here to that already described for other regions. In 1100, the customs conceded by the Bishop of Troia to the residents of a new Tavoliere settlement assessed them for tax purposes and they were classified according to their draft cattle. The richest were those owning a swing plough with three or more oxen. Such ploughs were presumably heavy aration instruments, drawn by cattle in single line, and meant to dig up the heavy soil of the plain.[63] In twelfth-century Apulia, fallow land was tilled and produced intermediate

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[63] *Les Chartes de Troia*, 144–5 no. 33. Martin (1993), 333–334.

crops;[64] while harrowing was practised in Campania as early as the eleventh century, but is chiefly documented during the thirteenth.[65] The introduction of triennial rotation has already been mentioned. As early as the tenth, but mainly in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, water-mills became common on the small streams of the Tavoliere, but not in the limestone areas of Apulia where there is no running water. Water-mills were similarly found in Calabria and in Campania, where the lower Volturno had boat-mills as early as the end of the eleventh century, and where the ownership of mills was often shared in times of milling.[66]

Equally important were the techniques of water management, namely irrigation and drainage and everywhere water was kept in cisterns or well-cisterns. In addition, where the landscape and technical knowledge made it possible, running water irrigation was practised. This was the case not only in Sicily, which benefited from Muslim technology, but also in Amalfi, for the citrus orchards, and in some other hilly regions. One should, however, note that irrigation nowhere reached the scale on which Muslims had practised it in Spain, nor did southern Italy recognise the difference between *regadío* and *secano* that was fundamental in Spain. However, in the Capitanata, vegetable gardens were found far from the villages, along the streams which made irrigation possible. On the other hand, the reclamation of land in the plains, in particular on the coast, was dependent on a great deal of drainage work (*bonifica*), something that is indirectly documented both in the eastern Tavoliere and the Campanian plain, as well as in the Sele valley to the south-east of Salerno. Drainage ditches were dug, the fields bordering marshland were put into cultivation, and occasionally even marshland was seeded.[67]

Other techniques were less innovatory. Most instruments were partly made of wood, like the swing plough, in which only the iron coulter had to be bought, which explains why the peasant had to have woodworking tools. He would also have used hoes (*zappa*), spades, sickles, forks and pruning hooks and needed the use of permanent installations for the necessary transformation of agricultural products. Wheat threshing took place in the open country on areas

[64] Martin (1993), 336.
[65] Martin (1990), 324.
[66] E.g. *Perg. di Capua*, ii(2).4–6 no. 2 (1094), 10 no. 5 (1104). Martin (1990), 323.
[67] Martin (1987), 124–5.

which were often stone faced and where the corn was either flailed or trampled by cattle. After threshing, the grain was preserved in underground pits, well-documented in Apulia from the tenth century onwards, and which archaeologists have also discovered in both Calabria and the Capitanata. Such pits, once filled and made air tight, would lose the interstitial oxygen through grain respiration, and thus became protected from rodents.[68] Grapes appear to have been pressed in simple vats, after which the must was placed in fermentation casks and the wine was kept, presumably not for very long, in wooden barrels, circled with willow branches. These barrels were regularly taken to pieces to be scoured.[69] Olives were crushed in a press (*trapetum* in Latin, *elaiotribion* in Greek), which does not seem to have differed from those used in the Ancient world. Presses were often owned collectively or by the Church, and were sometimes powered, at least in the thirteenth century, by animals.[70] In Apulia, they were often placed in caves where the temperature remained comparatively mild at harvest time around the end of autumn or beginning of winter, and this allowed the oil to flow more evenly. Chestnuts were dried 'on the grill' above an abundantly smoking fire, following a technique still recently used in Corsica.[71] Finally, flax was put into a special pit (*fusarium*) for retting.

Throughout this period, production underwent only a few qualitative changes. Citrus fruits were introduced into the duchy of Amalfi, and buffalo appeared in Campania in the twelfth century and in the Tavoliere in the thirteenth.[72] However, production did grow and some products were improved. As for cereals, Apulia (as we have said) only produced wheat and winter barley; the north-west (Campania, Molise) added millet, panic, 'faro'—wheat and even a little rye. The thirteenth century saw the beginning of sorghum cultivation, and

[68] Martin & Noyé (1981). Documentary example, *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, 198–203 no. 65 (1059): *fovea da frumento mittere*.

[69] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.117–19 no. 73 (1073), 157–9 no. 97 (1099), 168–70 no. 102 (1104), 229–31 no. 134 (1130). Martin (1987), 143.

[70] E.g. a half share in an olive press given to the nunnery of St. Benedict at Polignano in 1109, *Le Pergamene di Conversano*, ed. G. Coniglio (*Codice Diplomatico Pugliese* xx, 1973), 148–50 no. 63. In 1182 Bishop William IV of Troia gave his cathedral chapter a tithe of the oil from his presses at Troia and S. Lorenzo in Carminiano, *Les Chartes de Troia*, 293–6 no. 99, at 294.

[71] E.g. the references to *castanee sicce at* gratem in *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.117–19 no. 73, 144–5 no. 90 (1092).

[72] E.g. the pair of buffaloes mentioned in *Cartulaire de S. Matteo di Sculgola*, 447–51 no. 259 (1221), at 449. See Martin (1990), 321.

Frederick II tried to introduce oats into the Capitanata (presumably for his stud-farms there). In the Campania, a wide variety of leguminous crops were grown, particularly on the island of Capri.[73] In Apulia, where the climate was less favourable, these only appeared during the twelfth century, where they were doubtless needed to feed an expanding population. Finally, textile plants (primarily flax but occasionally hemp), which agrarian contracts usually associated with cereal and leguminous crops, were mainly cultivated in the Campania and in Molise. In Apulia and Calabria, the presence of flax is only documented for some particularly wet areas.

Like cereals, vines grew practically everywhere, not only on the hills, but also in low marshland. In Apulia, where they were planted on their own, in rows (*ordines*), they tended to give way to olives in the twelfth century. In Campania, where they were grown within the *coltura promiscua* system, the plantation of trees and vines together, usually multiplied by layering, was specified by the contracts of *pastinatio*. In order to have the necessary links for binding them together, rushes and willow were often grown nearby.

The greatest evolution was undoubtedly in the field of arboriculture. Chestnuts were already being cropped in early medieval Campania, and as early as the ninth and tenth centuries the practice of grafting the trees appeared.[74] But only at the beginning of the eleventh century do we have evidence for the best varieties of chestnuts (*rubiola, zenzala, palumbula*), and it was probably then that this crop became a full part of the human diet. The cultivation of chestnuts was especially prominent in the area around Avellino. The development of the olive in Apulia occurred a little later. Until the eleventh century, the tree occupied only a limited place in this region, being enclosed in small plots or isolated on field borders. It was during the eleventh century that, in places where oleasters grew spontaneously, cereal fields were planted with grafted olive-trees. This occurred on the lower limestone plateau between Molfetta, Ostuni and Castellaneta. Olive cultivation then became a money-making activity, oriented towards export. Indeed, in the 1150s, St. Andrew's Day (30th November), which coincided with the olive harvest, became a term current in credit operations.[75] In the thirteenth century, the

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[73] Martin (2000). For references more generally, Martin (1987), 116–118.
[74] Martin (1990), 325–326.
[75] Martin (1993), 362–6, 481.

tree expanded over other regions (the Tavoliere and some sectors of Campania), where olive-trees were planted in a systematic way.

Hence, between the tenth and the thirteenth century, a multifaceted rise of production occurred, coupled with technical improvement, including selection within some species, specialisation within each smaller region to the product to which it was best adapted, and the multiplication of supplementary food crops. It goes without saying that such an evolution presupposes the existence of commercial circuits both inside the kingdom (where heavy transport took place essentially by sea, at least in the thirteenth century), and between the kingdom and the world outside, especially central and northern Italy, which saw the development of large towns able to consume southern products. It was also that commerce, as we have already said, which explained the renewed interest of lords in the direct exploitation of the land.

As early as the twelfth century the land was fully occupied, and rationally organised around the concentrated settlements. In Apulia, where *coltura promiscua* was impossible, *terroirs*, or sets of homogeneous crops, appeared. Vegetable gardens were, here as elsewhere, placed immediately around the villages, where they could benefit from regular care, a supply of manure and the presence of small amounts of ground water. Then came farmland, often dry, sometimes irrigated when near a stream, with either cereals on their own, or cereals plus olives, and then vines. Finally, there was the *incultum*, of which more will be said later.

The size as well as the limits of plots varied according to the crop and region, although most were irregular rectangles and they were most of the time relatively compact. The Tavoliere, where notaries often mentioned the measurement of the sides of plots, was a zone of open field, divided into large plots of cereals, very often greater than one hectare, together with a few vineyards and specialised olive gardens, both of a much more limited size. In the Terra di Bari, the *chianca*, or surface limestone, was gathered into dry stone walls and probably already into *trulli*, the conical dry stone constructions for which this region is famous.[76] Fields in the Campania were often bordered with quickset hedges, in particular of elder, and in the Neapolitan region with earth dykes; while the Amalfitan countryside was distinguished by the use of stone to construct boundary walls and buildings.[77]

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[76] Bertaux (1899).
[77] Martin (1995b).

Despite widespread reclamation, especially in the thirteenth century, the growth of human settlement in the countryside did not completely eliminate the *incultum*, which was economically indispensable, both as a source of wood and a space for pasture. In the Norman period, it was considered as public, that is to say seigneurial, property and income from it certainly contributed a significant part of seigneurial revenues. Its carefully regulated use implied the payment of taxes, in particular the *herbaticum* for pasturing sheep and the *glandaticum* for pigs. Royal or seigneurial *foresterii* collected those dues and protected the forbidden sections. Here, as in England, the word *foresta* had above all a legal meaning. But lords did concede free, if limited, rights of usage to some churches, and the privileges granting these constitute our main source of information about such exactions.[78]

Stock-rearing was not limited to sheep and pigs, but little is known about horse breeding before the thirteenth century when the royal stud-farms were established in Apulia. Nor do we know much about the rearing of oxen and cows, which were primarily used to draw the swing ploughs. Pigs provided winter meat, whereas sheep provided the meat for summer and above all wool and cheese. Lambs were slaughtered as a necessary concomitant to milk production while useless or sterile animals were also slaughtered.

It is well known that in Antiquity, under the Empire, a system of long distance transhumance allowed flocks to move from the high summer pastures of the Abruzzo to the winter pastures of the Tavoliere.[79] However, the last epigraphical document concerning this activity is no later than the sixth century. At the end of the thirteenth century, one perceives the first signs of a resurgence of transhumance between the two regions. This resurgence had already caused some desertions in Capitanata in the fourteenth century, and was well established in the fifteenth. The final structure of the *Dogana*, the royal office which supervised this traffic, was promulgated in 1447 by Alfonso of Aragon—it was to last until the beginning of the nineteenth century.[80]

Many historians believe that long distance transhumance was a simple and natural activity, and are happy to jump from the sixth up to the fourteenth century, under the impression that the transfer of animals between the Abruzzo and Apulia was never interrupted.

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[78] Von Falkenhausen (1980), 229 *et seq.*, Toubert (1981), 206–8.

[79] Corbier (1983).

[80] Ryder (1976), 358–63.

This is simply untrue.[81] First, not a single document from the early or high Middle Ages can be produced to prove this. Secondly, the transfer of hundreds of thousands, or even millions of animals, along a distance of several hundreds kilometres, demanded an extremely sophisticated organisation, which could only be produced by the state, as with the Aragonese *Dogana*. It was necessary to look after the large paths (the *tratturi*, 111 metres wide), decide on a time-table for the transfers, organise a share-out of pastures (and forbid the cultivation of plots therein), and to pay for specific services of police and justice. During the first centuries of the Middle Ages, such a transfer cut across several political frontiers. Furthermore, the public authorities were unable to promote such a complex economic organisation at this period, and besides the Tavoliere was practically empty until the twelfth century. It could indeed be used for pasture, but only for small flocks which had travelled perhaps 10 or 20 km. In 1019 the foundation charter of Troia decreed that the communities of Troia and Vaccarizza would share the *nomistron* (right of pasture) levied on flocks coming from outside, but this was probably not from very far away.[82] The resurgence of long distance transhumance in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries meant total economic conversion for the Capitanata, and even for the neighbouring regions. It wiped out most of the villages in the plain. But at the time that we study, stock breeding occupied a normal and medial place in the agricultural economy of the region, not a dominant one.

Conclusion

The path followed by southern Italy in the agricultural sector was in no sense original. Demographic growth, the concentration of rural population into grouped and stable villages from the tenth century onwards, the reorganisation of the countryside according to that new human geography, and finally the growth of agrarian production that became increasingly orientated towards the networks of exchange, were phenomena common to the whole of Italy and of the western world. Indeed, similar phenomena can also be observed in the Byzantine Balkans. This was a period of land reclamation all over Europe.

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[81] Martin (1993), 377–384.
[82] Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 18–20 no. 18.

Where southern Italy was unique was in the factors which underpinned such phenomena. In the first place, the region was profoundly affected by the crisis of the early Middle Ages, which meant the abandonment of a number of cities, and left the coastal plains practically empty. At the time of the great reconstruction, the country was divided into political units which were sufficiently different in their nature for the settlement networks within them not to follow the same principles. Finally, the late introduction of a seigneurial regime transformed the country, but without giving it any real uniformity.

Economic growth, while evident, was limited to the primary sector, namely agriculture, and occasionally to such activities as fishing and the extraction of salt.[83] The craft and industrial sector, in particular the manufacture of textiles, which was considerably developed in other places, remained modest. Finally, with the exception of Naples, the kingdom on the mainland did not have any large cities. We might add that, in the thirteenth century, the most active men of business, such as those of Ravello near Amalfi, were more ready to specialise in public tax-farming than in free enterprise.[84] So, in spite of a remarkable economic growth, the kingdom on the mainland began to appear, not as an underdeveloped country, but rather as a country that was not completely developed, unable to export much more than raw materials and, at the same time, reduced to importing manufactured goods.

[83] For fishing, see Bresc (1985).
[84] Kamp (1974).

Map II. Apulia and the Basilicata

R. Trigno

R. Biferno

Trivento

R. Fortore

Lesina

Varano

Vieste

R. Candelaro

Monte Sant'Angelo

Dragona

Civitate

Siponto

Fiorentino

Volturara

Lucera

ADRIATIC SEA

Foggia

Troia

R. Servaro

R. Calore

Canne

Barletta

Trani

Ascoli Satriano

R. Ofanto

Canosa

Andria

Molfetta

Benevento

Giovinazzo

Bitonto

Bari

Frigento

Lavello

Minervino

Terlizzi

Venosa

Polignano

Melfi

Spinazzola

Conversano

Monopoli

Gravina

Altamura

Salerno

R. Sele

Acerenza

R. Bradano

Ostuni

Matera

R. Tanagro

Potenza

Tricarico

Castellaneta

Brindisi

R. Basento

Montescaglioso

Massafra

Oria

Taranto

R. Agri

Lecce

Grumento

Sant'Arcangelo

Tursi

Carbone

Otranto

R. Sinni

Gallipoli

0   50   100km

THE NORTHERN FRONTIER OF NORMAN
ITALY, 1060–1140

Laurent Feller[1]

The intention of this chapter is to examine the conditions under which, between 1070 and 1140, the Abruzzi region, solidly linked, at least in appearance, to the Kingdom of (Northern) Italy, moved into a completely different political, cultural and economic sphere. The removal of five counties from the duchy of Spoleto and their attachment, in a rather altered form, to the kingdom created by Roger II was not just a minor change to the frontier. The modification to the map signified the alteration of a number of checks and balances which had up to then been maintained by the imperial authorities, as well as the reorganisation of local society along different lines. The frontier which was established in the 1140s remained fixed up until the Risorgimento; and the stability of the boundary suggests in itself that there were lines of convergence between this part of the duchy of Spoleto and the society of the south.

The area with which we are concerned was of considerable extent. It stretched c. 200 km. along the coast from the mouth of the River Trigno to that of the Tronto, and extended 100 km. or more to the west between the Adriatic and the Campania. Not all this region was productive—it contained the Monti di Maiella and the Gran Sasso, the highest mountains in mainland Italy. It was, however, being settled during the eleventh century, particularly in its southern part; indeed from the mid-tenth century onwards it experienced a process of growth similar both in scale and method to the one then underway in Lazio and the Arezzo region.[2]

The south-eastern part of the duchy of Spoleto had towards the end of the Carolingian period been divided into five counties: Marsia, Valva, *Aprutium*, Penne and Chieti. They formed a sort of frontier march, never formally constituted as such but nevertheless with a real existence and a certain effectiveness. Next to these territories,

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[1] Translation from the French by G.A. Loud.
[2] Toubert (1973), Delumeau (1996), Feller (1998a).

the northern part of the principality of Benevento was organised in a similar manner. The coastal area was split into the three counties of Campomarino, Termoli and Larino while the interior zone comprised three more, Isernia, Venafro and Trivento.

The emperors had always been alert to the role played by the southern part of the duchy of Spoleto as a defensive bastion. From 801 onwards the frontier had been pushed southwards, by King Pepin of Italy, from Pescara to the River Trigno. The foundation of the abbey of Casauria, in 873, was also intended to fix within the interior of the kingdom a region in which the social élites had been allied to Benevento during the political crisis around 870.[3] This allowed the polarisation of local society around the monastery, which was considered as the emperor's representative in the region and as the necessary mediator between the ruler and the local élites.

The function of the Abruzzi as a marcher region was implicitly confirmed during the tenth century. Otto I had attempted definitively to resolve the frontier question and to ensure the stability of the whole of central-south Italy by uniting the duchy of Spoleto and the principality of Benevento under the personal government of Pandulf Ironhead (ruler of Benevento 961–981). But after this union had collapsed, the governors of the southern part of the duchy found themselves entrusted with a *de facto* police mission towards the south. The three Adriatic counties (*Aprutium*, Penne and Chieti) were entrusted to a single count, Atto II, who fulfilled this role effectively—but only for a brief period, for a little later, c. 1000, this region was in crisis.

Neither the conquest's own dynamic nor the ambition or greed of the conquerors are sufficient to explain the course of events in the 1070s, the Normans' initial success and the difficulties which their conquest encountered between the years 1110 and 1140. Local society had to be in a particular state of development before integration could take place. The creation of the frontier zone and the interpretion of the conflicts which broke out there are the keys which allow us to understand the reasons which made possible something that remained a rare event in the Middle Ages, the shift of a frontier.[4]

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[3] Pellegrini (1990), Feller (1998c).
[4] On the problem of frontiers, Toubert (1992).

Sources

The sources concerning the northern borders of the Normans' lord-
ship are notable in that they allow us to take note at one and the
same time of the viewpoint of both conquerors and conquered. But
in the last resort those who were conquered wrote more than did
the conquerors and provide us with more material. Amatus of
Montecassino devoted quite a long section to the Abruzzi operations
of Count Robert I of Loritello, although this is by no means easy
to interpret. He said a little about what he understood to be the
local political situation, but he stopped c. 1070, and his geographi-
cal focus was limited; he said nothing about events that took place
around the Pescara River or further northwards. As for William of
Apulia, he said hardly anything about the affairs of this region, apart
from mentioning the Abruzzi or Spoletan counts who actively opposed
Robert Guiscard. He barely mentioned the operations undertaken
by Robert of Loritello, nor did Malaterra either. There seems to
have been very little perception by those in the south of the prob-
lems of this northern advance, nor did they accord it any impor-
tance. However, both the Montecassino chronicle of Leo of Ostia
(continued by Peter the Deacon and others) and the chronicle of St.
Vincent on Volturno contain a considerable amount of information.
The reason for this was that these two great monasteries, both of
them in the principality of Capua, had extensive property and eco-
nomic interests in the Abruzzi. By contrast, Falco of Benevento said
virtually nothing about this region.

We do, however, possess abundant and varied material from the
Abruzzese side. The archives of Montecassino and of Chieti, and
the remains of that of San Salvatore di Maiella preserved in the
Vatican Library, provide precious evidence about local society but,
all in all, tell us relatively little about the conquerors, who were only
rarely represented in these conveyancing documents. They gave very
little land to these churches themselves, and only rarely witnessed
the donations of others. But we also possess a splendid set of local
narrative sources. The most ancient of these is the *Libellus de miseriis
ecclesie pinnensis*, an anonymous tract dating from the end of the
eleventh century, which recounts the difficulties posed for the bish-
opric of Penne by the attacks upon it made first by the lords of

Carpineto-Brittoli and then by the Normans.[5] Although brief and
very allusive, this tract is rendered extremely valuable by the impor-
tance of the information it gives.

The two great chartulary-chronicles of St. Bartholomew of Carpineto
and St. Clement at Casauria furnish the core of our narrative and
archival evidence.[6] They present two opposing points of view. Casauria
was an imperial monastery, permeated by nostalgia for its past great-
ness. The monks viewed the Normans as hateful evildoers, and the
chronicler John Berard could never find enough abusive words to
describe them. He displayed a particular hatred for Hugh Mamouzet,
one of the principal protagonists of the conquest at the end of the
eleventh century—and evinced great joy in recounting the undignified
circumstances of his final capture.[7] The chronicle, written in the
1170s, shows the malaise which had infected an ancient institution
as a result of the setbacks caused by the Norman presence and the
incorporation of the Abruzzi into the kingdom of Roger II. The atti-
tude of the Casauria monks was, in a real sense, reactionary; they
would have preferred—and they made this very clear—to have lived
within the old imperial structures. They believed that there had
indeed been a Golden Age, and that it was in the Carolingian period.[8]

By contrast, the Carpineto chronicler Alexander saw the Normans,
and above all Hugh Mamouzet, as generous benefactors. The his-
tory of the abbey of St. Bartholomew explains this point of view. It
had been founded in the mid-tenth century by a member of the
local aristocracy, and was intended as the private monastery for his
family, the lords of Carpineto and Brittoli. From the 1050s onwards
the monks had sought to free themselves from this burdensome tute-
lage and to break down the ties of subordination which bound their
house to the lords of Carpineto. The result was a persecution by
the head of this kin group which led to the monks for a time aban-
doning their monastery. Hence they saw the Normans as liberators,

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[5] Ed. A. Hofmeister, *M.G.H. Scriptores* xxx(2) (Leipzig 1934), 1461–4.

[6] On these documents, see Feller (1998a), 47–83. The recent edition of the
Carpineto chronicle, by Fuselli (1996) is not entirely reliable, that in Ughelli, *Italia
Sacra*, x, is decidedly untrustworthy. A facsimile of the Casauria chartulary-chronicle
(Paris, BNF, MS. Lat. 5411) was published in 1982; there is no modern edition.
The eighteenth-century one by Muratori, *RIS* ii(2). 775–1018, is of good quality,
although incomplete. See also Martin (1994), 9–25.

[7] Hugh had an assignation with a lover, whose followers made him prisoner by
winding his long tunic around him, *Chron. Casauriense*, 870.

[8] Feller (1982).

and they were in fact consistently supported and favoured by them.[9] The chroniclers do not give a very clear account of the period between 1100 to 1140; they are very allusive about anything not concerning very local history and very discreet about the (often anti-Norman) political stance of the abbots. Careful use of Idrīsī allows one to ascertain with some precision the state of the frontier in the 1130s, as well as to delineate the local consequences of the failure of Lothar III's expedition in 1137. It is known that Idrīsī used a wide variety of sources, and that, as well as route descriptions and portolan maps, he had recourse to memoranda drawn up at the palace under the orders of the *Amīr* of *Amīrs*, George of Antioch. The section of this text dealing with the Abruzzi is astonishingly rich and precise, and poses interesting problems of interpretation.[10]

This relative abundance of information allows us, even before presenting all the facts, to suggest an overall framework. We shall later deal with and concentrate upon the period which stretched from the conquest of the 1070s up to the annexation by the new kingdom in the 1140s, and then conclude by looking at the reorganisation which took place during the years 1140 to 1180.

The southern frontier of the duchy of Spoleto at the start
of the eleventh century

The institutional structure established by the Carolingians and consolidated by the Ottonians declined from the 990s onwards. There were two symptoms of this. On the one hand the expansion towards the south of a number of Abruzzese kin groups, including that of the counts, marked the end of a period of territorial stability. In 992 the Princes of Capua invested a member of the family of the Counts of Marsia with the county of Trivento.[11] In 1032, Count Atto IV described himself as 'ruler of all the land of Termoli' (*dominator totius terre Termolensi*).[12] In that same year, the Archbishop of Capua made the greater part of the lands situated between the Rivers Sangro and Biferno subject to the Bishops of Isernia—thus linking the southern

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[9] *Il Chronicon di S. Bartolomeo di Carpineto*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Chigi G VI.157, fol. 160 [ed. Fuselli, 104]. Loud (1992), 37–9.
[10] Bresc & Nef (1999). On the history of geography, see Gautier Dalché (1995).
[11] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, x.471. Feller (1988), 21.
[12] *Cod. Dipl. Tremiti*, pp. 42–5 no. 13.

Abruzzi to a diocese in the principality. And it was during this same period that the kin group of the Borelli began, in the Sangro valley and southwards as far as the Trigno, a remarkable expansion which from c. 1050 onwards had a strikingly destabilising effect. In short, the Abruzzese aristocracy seemed to consider the frontier counties of the Beneventan principality as their natural zone of expansion. The fact that members of the family who exercised the function of margrave took part in this movement shows both the dynamism of this group and the loss of its traditional political role. It is clear that the whole frontier zone had by then been destabilised and that Ottonian policy was collapsing. These interventions in the southern region were caused by the ambitions of the principal kin groups and by their need or land; they were no longer, as may still have been the case in the 980s, guided by an appreciation of the interests of the empire in this region.

At the same time as this climate of instability developed, political institutions were in crisis. The key instrument of Carolingian policy, the formal court case known as the plea (*placitum*), no longer functioned well after c. 990. These no longer took place in the southern part of the duchy. Furthermore, it seems that the family of the Attonid counts was subject to considerable internal tension. After the 1030s they lost all influence in the northern part of the Abruzzi, where the papacy established a foothold, supported by the emperors. The last judicial pleas of a Carolingian type were held in 1022, and these were pleas held by imperial *missi*, which were occasioned by the Italian expedition of Henry II and the presence there of his own officials. They cannot be considered as being the normal means of resolving conflicts at the local level, as they had been in the second half of the previous century.[13]

The procedures employed after the 1020s were a lot closer to negotiated solutions of the *convenientia* type than to real court processes following formal legal rules.[14] And it was after the 1020s that first military expeditions intended to settle local conflicts are attested in the Casauria chronicle.[15] Instances of miracles whereby the monastery's property was protected and those who attacked it repulsed also began

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[13] Bougard (1995), Feller (1998a), 675–8.

[14] Feller (1998a), 679–708. Bonnassie (1968).

[15] E.g. *Chron. Casauriense*, 848: a military operation by Abbot Guido, at the head of a body of knights and infantry, against the lords of the *castrum* of Tocco.

to be recorded at the same time.[16] Pleas to regulate property disputes ceased to be formally convoked, and within the aristocratic group procedures involving trial by combat grew more frequent. Then the first mentions of seigneurial justice appeared in the Abruzzi, as they did in the Sabina, in the 1060s. From the outset, this private justice tried (all the time imitating Carolingian models) to integrate the new social group which had appeared from the 1020s onwards, comprising the military following of the judges, into the decision-making process and the formulation of sentences.[17] In short, one is in the presence of a process of political change, which accompanied the expansion towards the south.

At the same time, the whole geography of settlement was changed. The key feature of this region at the start of the eleventh century, as in other parts of central and southern Italy, was the multiplication of *castra*. This occurred first of all in those zones which the count no longer controlled, or where his control was less and less effective.[18] This *incastellamento* began in the 970s, but one should note that even by the 1050s it still did not affect the whole of the region.

As is well known, *incastellamento* was above all a social and economic phenomenon. Lords tried to intensify their exploitation of the land, and to increase and rationalise their income from it by reorganising their estates and grouping the peasant population together in concentrated settlements, in order to make the most effective possible use of their agricultural resources. But because this was linked with a militarisation, those areas which experienced the phenomenon of *incastellamento* largely escaped from the public authority of the count, who no longer physically had access to them. It was at this time that vassalic *clientela* were consolidated and extended, primarily created around Casauria, but no doubt also around the most powerful of the castral lords. The counts, acting in a public sphere, did not build fortresses in the lands which they held, nor were they capable of setting up a line of fortifications facing southwards, probably because that would have constrained them to reshape the entire organisation of their power. Their ability to undertake military action was based on the 'host', a mobile and temporary expedient, not on

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[16] E.g. *Chron. Casauriense*, 852: a miracle of St. Clement protected the land of Casauria against an attack by Count Transmund III.

[17] Feller (1998a), 705–8.

[18] There is an abundant bibliography on the spatial logic created by *incastellamento*, see Francovich & Milanesi (1989) and Wickham (1998).

fortresses provided with garrisons. In this sense their army was organised like a Carolingian army, and appeared as the heir to the military structures of the Frankish period.[19] The Attonids did for a long time, certainly up to the 1070s, retain their ability to raise a field army. They did this twice in the face of the Normans, in 1053 alongside the papal contingents for the Civitate campaign and in the 1070s against Robert I of Loritello. At the battle of Civitate they were at the head of contingents from the duchy of Spoleto (represented by the counties of Valva, Marsia and Chieti).[20] At the battle of Ortona against the Count of Loritello Transmund IV still commanded contingents coming from all over the territory which was militarily subordinate to him.[21]

By contrast, the choice made by the monasteries on the one hand and by the aristocracy on the other to fortify their lands and to erect *castra* there meant that some means of providing the garrisons for these must have been found. It was absolutely necessary to install soldiers in these new centres. The military role of these *castra* ought not to be underestimated; no doubt it was not their primary function, but it was still a real one. To do this, lords had recourse to the institutional resources that customary law allowed them to utilise. The first concessions of land tied to service and similar to military tenures, that is to say fiefs, appear in the documents right at the start of the eleventh century. It is clear that there was a shift from a system of pacts and alliances, like that which existed in Tuscany at the same period, to a hierarchical and vertical system, allowing the polarisation of landholding and social relations around multiple centres.[22] The impact of Carolingian rule had not been strong enough in this region to allow the diffusion of vassalage into the body of public military institutions, in the way that it had in northern Italy. Here vassalage remained a private contract and was a sign of the enfeeblement of a central public authority that was losing its military coherence.

This comital weakness allowed the ambitions of the most enterprising family groups to be given their head. The most spectacular, and in my view the most decisive, activity was undoubtedly that of the Borelli in the inland part of the territory that stretched from the Sangro to the Trigno.

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[19] Settia (1984), 47–61.
[20] *W. Apulia*, II, lines 165–70, p. 140.
[21] *Amatus*, VII.31, pp. 326–8.
[22] Cf. for Tuscany, Brancoli Busdraghi (1982).

The role of the Borelli in the collapse of the southern frontier of the duchy of Spoleto

The actions of the Borelli led to the dissolution of the frontier zone established between the principality of Benevento and the Chieti region. This family were derived from a junior branch of the large extended kin group of the Counts of Marsia, and they were installed near the Sangro river, on the southern border of the county of Chieti, by the beginning of the eleventh century.[23]

In the complex interplay of disputes and alliances between Capua, Benevento and Salerno after 1030, they were consistent supporters of Pandulf IV of Capua against Guaimar IV of Salerno and his Norman allies. In 1038 they were the target of a punitive expedition despatched against them on behalf of St. Vincent on Volturno by Guaimar and Count Rainulf of Aversa.[24] The Borells had attacked the monastery, probably seized Castel San Vincenzo, and had installed themselves for a time in the abbatial buildings. They do not appear to have suffered much harm from the military operation against them, and it had no effect whatsoever on their behaviour. They were still mentioned among the abbey's persecutors in the 1040s, with particular reference to the *castrum* of Licenoso, the lands of which they had seized and which they later appear to have held by lease from the monks.[25] During this same decade, however, they managed to maintain good relations with Guaimar of Salerno; if one is to believe Amatus they frequented his court and were on friendly terms with him.[26] In 1059 or 1060 Pope Nicholas II deprived them of three fortresses, but they obtained as recompense various *castra* along the Sangro and were confirmed in their possession of the two former monastic *castra* of Licenoso and Alfadena.[27]

The Borelli were linked with Montecassino, to which they had made donations since 1014.[28] But this friendship or alliance with this monastery was at the expense of St. Vincent on Volturno. The geography of their donations at this period shows that they had already

[23] De Francesco (1909–10), 661–71, Rivera (1919), *passim*, Müller (1931), *Chron. Vult.* iii.78–9.
[24] Chalandon (1907), i.85–7.
[25] *Chron. Vult.* iii.89. The location of this *castrum* has not been identified.
[26] *Amatus*, II.35, pp. 102–3.
[27] *Chron. Vult.* iii.90.
[28] *Chron. Cas.* II.6, p. 176. For the Borells (in English), Jamison (1959), 54–9.

penetrated a long way south, as far as Pietrabbondante near the Trigno, that is to say more or less in contact with the Normans, by the 1010s. Then, between 1040 and 1060, they built up a territorial base along the Sangro, from Alfadena up to the confluence with the Aventino. From there they expanded southwards, and their lines of expansion inevitably clashed with those of the Normans.

From an early date this kin group found itself associated with those connected to the conquerors, if not directly to the invaders themselves. Thus in 1053, at a plea presided over by Leo IX, which delivered a verdict in favour of St. Vincent on Volturno, one of their number, Oderisius son of Borellus, was among those present at the side of Roffred of Guardia; the latter was the father-in-law of Radulf of Moulins, then a fairly recent immigrant but already an important Norman leader.[29] However, at this period both Oderisius son of Borellus and Roffred were still part of the military following of the Attonids, for both were at the side of Counts Atto V and Transmund III at the Battle of Civitate.[30]

In 1061 the Borelli were involved in affairs at Rome, where they supported the party opposed to that chosen by Richard of Capua.[31] In that same year Prince Richard launched an expedition against their possessions which, even though it failed, had significant consequences. The Norman army lacked bases in the Sangro valley and was unable to obtain supplies there, hence it was forced to retreat.[32] The Borelli seized the opportunity to negotiate with the leader of the defeated forces and made an alliance with Richard. They then accompanied him on the raid which he launched into the Roman Campagna later that same year. Thereafter members of their family were involved in most of the attempts at military expansion stemming from Capua. Thus in 1066 they took part in the expedition led by Richard against Marsia—they got as far as Alba but were unable to take it.[33] In 1073 Robert Guiscard entrusted one of their members with the command of a raid which probably reached as far as Tagliacozzo. However, there is no evidence that they were members of the army led by Robert I of Loritello which round about the same time seized the county of Chieti.

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[29] *Chron. Vult.* iii.86 no. 203. Ménager (1975), 333.
[30] *W. Apulia*, II, line 166, p. 140. On the Attonids, Feller (1998a), 606–44.
[31] Benzo of Alba, *Ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem, MGH SS* xi.616.
[32] *Amatus*, IV.26, p. 199.
[33] *Amatus*, VI.7, pp. 269–70. *Chron. Cas.* III.23, p. 390.

This shift in alliance allowed the Borelli to consolidate their territorial hegemony and to continue their social climbing within the aristocratic group, but at the expense of the wider kin group from which they originally stemmed and of the political structure within which they had not been able to find a place. Further north, in the vicinity of Casauria, the complaisance with which aristocrats of Lombard or Frankish descent regarded the Normans had a similar explanation. Territorial lords, repressed or hampered by the local political organisation, and by the extent of monastic property in the area, could only find room for their ambitions by attacking comital power, while trying to nibble away at the territorial lordships of the great abbeys and to destroy, if they could, the foundations of their power. Both the Brittoli near Carpineto and the Sansoneschi in the Pescara valley practised the same policy, even if the chronology was slightly different.[34]

From the 1060s, in any case, the territory of the Sangro took on its own political identity. The lands of the Borelli were thereafter described as being in *territorio Sangretano* and charters—preserved, it is true, in the Register of Peter the Deacon, where the accuracy of the transcriptions has often been questioned—were issued *in Sangro*, a type of geographic nomenclature which had up to that time been limited to the Carolingian counties.[35] The lordship of the Borelli thus tended to acquire an autonomy which made it possible for members of the family themselves to adopt a comital title. This was something which happened in the 1090s at the latest; in 1098 Berard son of Oderisius claimed the title of Count of Sangro (*Sangretanus comes*) both for his father and himself.[36] The comital title was the culmination of the family's career. It is always described within a Norman context; although one knows that in practice it did not convey great significance, rather the prominent position of an individual at the head of a military or familial group whom he directed. The Borelli thereby placed themselves clearly within the political structure of the invaders whom they imitated. The break with the post-Carolingian territorial organisation was thus made very early, and the role of the Borelli as a factor in destroying or dissolving the frontier zone that

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[34] Feller (1998a), 584–91.

[35] *Registrum Petri Diaconi* (Archivio di Montecassino, reg. no. 2), fols. 219v–220r, no. 494, ed. E. Gattula, *Accessiones ad Historiam Abbatiae Casinensis* (Venice 1734), i.179.

[36] *Reg. Pet. Diac.* fols. 127r–v, no. 536, ed. Gattula, *Accessiones*, i.218.

had existed between the old principality of Benevento and the *Regnum Italiae* was undoubtedly crucial. At the end of the 1060s the Attonid Counts could no longer provide a line of defence against a Norman attack, for the upper Sangro valley clearly no longer obeyed them, and the lands on the other side of the Trigno were certainly beyond their reach. It was indeed during the 1060s that the Attonid counts fixed their residence at Sette in the lower valley of the Sangro, a few kilometres south of Lanciano. The reason for this was military rather than political; it enabled them to respond to attacks by the Normans and their allies which were clearly visible in advance.

In the early twelfth century the Borelli publically admitted themselves to be vassals (*fideles*) of Count of Hugh of Boiano, since when Count Berard made an oath of fealty to Abbot Oderisius I of Montecassino, he reserved his fealty to Hugh of Moulins (Molise), named expressly as the lord of the man who was swearing the oath.[37] The attitude of the Counts of Sangro illustrates the versatility, or if one prefers the duality, of these kin groups who always had another system of alliances in reserve in case the first one went wrong. The opposite case was also true. Normans did not hesitate, when it suited them or when it was necessary, to ally with Lombards or even to proclaim themselves Lombards. Hugh Mamouzet himself, even though he described himself as a Frank, clearly lived according to Lombard law, or so it would seem from the two charters concerning him which have been transmitted to us.[38]

In the 1050s, despite everything, the Borelli continued to obey the Attonid counts. Obedience to comital levies is the best indication from which one can judge the solidity of the governmental structure existing in this region. It was effective up to the Battle of Civitate, but thereafter one could no longer count on the regular operation of military institutions. The emergence and consolidation of new territorial lordships, sometimes directly cut away from comital lands, limited or prevented submission to a superior authority. The frontier lords were less and less linked to the count and no longer felt themselves obliged to obey him. In any case, after Civitate the Borelli

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[37] *Reg. Pet. Diac.* fol. 257r, no. 628, ed. de Francesco (1909), 670. N.B. The counts of the Moulins family did not use the title 'Count of Molise' until the time of Roger II.

[38] *Chron. Casauriense*, BNF, MS. Lat. 5411, fol. 236r (1086). *Codice Diplomatico Sulmonese*, ed. N.F. Faraglia (Lanciano 1888), 23–5 no. 16 (1092). *Chronicon di Carpineto*, 296–9. Feller (1998a), 739.

of the Sangro valley made little delay before moving over to the Norman side, not least because the latter did not move directly against the inland Abruzzi, preferring to direct their attacks against the Campagna and Lazio. They do not figure in the list, admittedly a brief one, given by Amatus of those who fought alongside Transmund IV at the battle of Ortona.[39] Let us repeat, there is nothing to show that they could have been in the army of Robert of Loritello. The reversal of their lines of expansion is also remarkable. They first directed their efforts to the south against the Lombard principalities, taking advantage of their weakness. When the situation changed they redirected their attention towards the north.

The first phase of the Norman conquest (c. 1070–c. 1110)[40]

During the 1070s Count Robert I of Loritello launched a large-scale military offensive against the Abruzzi. He set in motion the conquest of the southern part of the region, that is to say the county of Chieti and a part of the county of Penne. If one is to believe Amatus, our only source for this point, his uncle, Robert Guiscard, made some 500 knights available to him for this invasion.[41] It would appear that Duke Robert was prepared to divert troops from his own operations, most probably (depending on when one dates Robert's invasion) from his conflict with Richard of Capua, for this secondary endeavour, even though it was in an area of seemingly limited importance and had unfortunate political consequences. The ravages which the Normans inflicted upon the duchy of Spoleto made the disputes already in existence between the Normans and the papacy worse, as well as worrying the German ruler. The papacy responded with a threat of excommunication intended to protect the property of Casauria from the Normans, although with seemingly little effect.[42] But even if the short-term benefits of the operation were dubious, it did provide a real strategic advantage, insofar as it established an intermediate zone which had to be traversed and mastered between

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[39] *Amatus*, VII.31, pp. 326–8. General discussion in Feller (1998a), 725–45.
[40] Rivera (1925) remains the best detailed guide to these events.
[41] *Amatus*, VII.31, p. 327. We have relatively little direct information about Robert I of Loritello; see Gatto (1979), Feller (1998b).
[42] Gregory VII, *Reg.* II.52a, p. 197. This was repeated some years later, *ibid.*, IX.4, p. 578. For a general discussion, Loud (2000a), 142–3, 203–6.

those lands which were by now firmly under Norman control and
imperial territory. Thus the Abruzzi bulwark was still functioning,
but in a reverse direction.

The invasion was speedy and penetrated a long way. The deci-
sive encounter took place near Ortona, in circumstances which deserve
some comment. While Count Robert was besieging what Amatus
described as a strong tower, but was actually the region's principal
port at that time, a relieving army under Count Transmund IV
came to its rescue, to fight a pitched battle. It is therefore clear that
the Abruzzese count could still at this period raise some sort of army.
The brief list of prisoners given by Amatus is enough to show what
was then the extent of Count Transmund's authority; it comprised
the Bishops of Camerino and Penne, a few members of the castral
aristocracy and some members of the Attonid family.[43]

The victory gained at Ortona opened a way towards the north
for Robert of Loritello. However, he did not continue his conquest
in person, leaving his brother Drogo 'also called Tasso' (qui et Tasso),
that is to say 'Drogo the Badger', to act in his stead. It would seem
that he and the bulk of his troops had been recalled by his uncle.
Drogo was accompanied by a number of adventurers seeking a place
for themselves. The most notorious of these was Hugh Mamouzet,
the great persecutor of Casauria and benefactor of Carpineto. It
would appear that, thanks to this pressure, the Normans got as far
as the town of Penne, which in the years immediately following was
in the hands of a certain Nebulon—no doubt the Nebulus whom
one finds mentioned in Casauria charters, and who witnessed a char-
ter of Hugh Mamouzet in 1086.[44]

In a very short space of time the political geography of the region
was transformed. The old Carolingian county of Chieti disappeared;
it remained only as a formal geographical term, no longer corre-
sponding to any political reality. From the 1090s onwards its north-
ern part, up to the River Sangro, came under the rule of the Counts
of Manopello, newcomers who were part of the entourage of the
Counts of Loritello. They were mentioned, with the comital title, in

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[43] Amatus, VII.31, pp. 326, 328–9.
[44] Chron. Casauriense [above, note 5], fol. 235v, in which he witnessed a charter
of Bishop Rainulf. Nebilo f. Farolfi and his brother Massarus were also both witnesses
of a donation made by Ubo de generatione Francorum, undoubtedly Hugh Mamouzet,
in 1086, ibid., fols. 235v–236r. Nebulus witnessed a donation by the Count of
Manopello in 1103 [see next note].

1101, and must have been present at the latest at the end of the 1090s.[45] The attention of the narrative sources was focussed upon Hugh Mamouzet, and in second place Tasso of Loreto, and said nothing about the Counts of Manopello before the early twelfth century. We are then told that William Tasso, son of Drogo, had sold his rights over the abbey of Casauria, the *castrum* of Popoli and the Bishopric of Valva-Sulmona to the Count of Manopello.[46]

The town of Chieti became almost immediately one of the key centres of Norman rule. The bishop in the 1090s was called Rainulf, a characteristically Norman anthroponym hitherto entirely absent from the Abruzzi region. One may therefore conclude, without being too rash, that Robert I of Loritello had appointed one of his own men to fill this important post.[47] Bishop Rainulf's temporal policy did in fact allow the territory over which he presided to be solidly attached to the county of Loritello. All his actions seemed to be designed to allow Count Robert effectively to govern the territory which he had conquered. In particular he gave the count a firm and permanent control over the fortresses belonging to his see and obligated himself to provide military service to him.[48] From the 1090s Chieti was thus one of the main bases of Norman rule within the old duchy of Spoleto, which by now had been partially dismembered.

The monks of Carpineto took precautions to protect themselves from Drogo the Badger, in the face of which he seems to have been very restrained. Evidence from the Carpineto chronicle shows how the county of Loreto was then integrated with the county of Loritello, which appears as the principal structure of authority. The chronicle reveals the division of rights agreed between Abbot Sampson (*Sanso*)

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[45] In 1101 Robert II of Loritello made a donation to the bishopric of Chieti. He was surrounded by the sons of his father's companions, among whom were Geoffrey and Richard, sons of *Perto* [Below, note 50]. The latter was the first Count of Manopello. In 1103 Count Richard of Manopello, son of Count *Perto*, made a donation to Casauria, *Chron. Casauriense*, fols. 239r–240r.

[46] *Chron. Casauriense*, ed. Muratori, 873. In any case, there is no evidence that Hugh Mamouzet himself was ever Count of Manopello—this assertion, e.g. by Gatto (1974), is pure fiction, with no documentary proof.

[47] Feller (1998b).

[48] Rainulf listed his military obligation towards the count in a document recording the purchase of the *castrum* of S. Paulo by Geoffrey of Vultura, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.700–1, while when he received a fortress from Count Robert in 1095, he assured him that it was at his disposal in time of war, Archivio arcivescovile di Chieti, no. 616, = A. Balducci, *Regesto delle pergamene della curia arcivescovile di Chieti* i *(1006–1400)* (Casalbordino 1926), 94–6 appendix III.

and Drogo with regard to property at Valeczo, not far from Loreto, owned by the abbey but then seized by the conqueror, who forced the peasants to come to live in a recently founded *castrum* which was short of settlers. This was, in fact, a classic example of the process known as *incastellamento*. The abbot had the right to levy a tithe from the men who were subject to him—one is not dealing here with an ecclesiastical tithe but with a seigneurial levy, normally payable to the count. Other rights, and notably the judicial ones, such as they were, belonged to Drogo.[49] The agreement, which is known to us only through this narrative source, was a division (*paréage*), something quite common in this region at this period—we have other examples, not many, it is true, but clear ones. After Drogo's death (the exact date of which is unknown) the abbot requested Robert of Loritello to confirm the agreement, and obtained from him that the monastery should be exempt from all future *servitium* owed to the Count of Loreto for this land. This can only have referred to some sort of military service from which the abbot and his men would in future be exempted. The confirmation granted by Robert of Loritello implies that this service in the host was in response to his needs. As a result, it is reasonable to think that the arrangements made by Bishop Rainulf and the count with regard to the *castrum sancti Pauli* (S. Polo) [note 48 above] were equally valid for all the lands of the count of Loreto, and it is therefore pretty well certain that Loreto should be considered as a rear fief of Loritello. This county was set up as a march protecting the lands of the Normans from what was left of the duchy of Spoleto.

However, Robert of Loritello himself was never seen north of the Pescara river. In 1095 he was at Lanciano where he made a donation to Bishop Rainulf of Chieti;[50] and it was probably on this occasion that the Abbot of Carpineto obtained the immunity from military service for Valeczo. The structure of lordship which had been established was still in working order in 1101 when William son of Tasso and the sons of Count *Perto* (Peter?) of Manopello were present at a donation made by Robert II of Loritello to Bishop Rainulf, done with their *consilio et suffragatione*, phraseology which suggests their sub-

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[49] Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Chigi G VI 157, fol. 163r–v, = *Chronicon Carpinetense*, p. 112.
[50] Balducci, *Regesto*, 94–6 [as note 48 above].

ordination as his vassals.[51] But the situation remained unstable and precarious. The two counties of Loreto and Manopello tended as time went on to become autonomous, which created tensions and turned the frontier region into an area of permanent dispute. There were, first of all, problems on the northern side—it is clear that some footholds had been established as far as the neighbourhood of Teramo, but no lasting occupation of the northern part of the county of Aprutium took place.[52] There were also internal problems. The tensions between the region's most important monastery, Casauria, with its military following and the Normans were an enduring feature. From the early 1100s some of the native Lombard aristocracy, under the leadership of the abbey, succeeded in freeing themselves from Norman domination, thus constituting what was in practice a new territorial system opposed to Manopello and Loreto, now based on an alliance between Count Atto VII and the monastery.[53] Indeed, if one is to believe the Casauria chronicle, a general uprising took place which destroyed the lordship of Hugh Mamouzet and achieved an least partial restoration of the *status ante quo*. Certainly the oaths of fealty made to the monastery attest to the defeat of the Normans, not least because Mamouzet's son entered the ranks of the abbey's vassals, making the classic pledge not to molest it.

Count Atto VII re-established himself at Teramo c. 1100. It is difficult to estimate how effective his rule was, but in the early years of the twelfth century Casauria looked to him to secure the restitution of lands usurped by various nobles of Lombard or Frankish origin. It would appear from a complaint addressed by the monks in 1104 to Cardinal Augustine, who had been sent to the Abruzzi by Paschal II to constrain Atto VII to regularise his matrimonial situation, that they were still waiting for the count to render justice to them.[54] At the same time Casauria tried to reconstitute its lordship by making the most of its legal claims. In 1111 the monastery persuaded its neighbours to recognise its overlordship over a wide swathe

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[51] *Ibid.* 93–4. This was therefore the formal assent of vassals in a *curia*.

[52] *Il Chartulario della chiesa teramana*, ed. F. Savini (Rome 1910), 16–19 no. 9 (1108), refers to misdeeds of the Normans who had been responsible for the seizure of lands and peasants from the Bishopric of Aprutium.

[53] For the genealogical problems with regard to the Attonid family, see Feller (1998a), 611–21.

[54] *Chron. Casauriense*, 875–6, 1005–7 [= BNF Ms. Lat. 5411, fols. 241r–v].

of lands north of the Pescara river: it was then reckoned to be the
sole proprietor within a generously defined perimeter, all property
within it was held from the abbey, directly or indirectly, and liable
to pay census.[55] At the same period the counties of Manopello and
Loreto were consolidated, but very much separate from the main
centres of Norman power.

The frontier c. 1140: the description of al-Idrīsī

The region was thus divided by a number of borders. There was
that between the remains of the duchy of Spoleto and the new
Norman lordships, also those between the latter and the seigneury
of Casauria, and that between the county of Manopello and the
duchy of Apulia. Nor, although detailed evidence is lacking, is it
clear that the county of Loritello remained united under the rule of
Robert II. The narrative sources from the south tell us very little
about the problems of the northern frontier. The Casauria chronicler
on the one hand describes a monastery burdened with strictly local
problems, with no regional context, but on the other was strongly
influenced by the attitude taken by the monastery in 1137, when it
looked to the Emperor Lothar III for protection against Roger II.
Nor did the Carpineto monks have any wider view of the geo-political
situation. None of our sources seems to have had much information
or interest about the real situation of the counties of Manopello or
Loreto vis-à-vis the duchy of Apulia or the county of Loritello. The
Montecassino chronicle, another obvious source for knowledge of the
northern part of the old principality of Benevento, is equally silent
in this regard.

That there were disorders and tensions within this region seems
clear, but simply to say that is not enough. One also needs to delin-
eate the political geography of the region, insofar as this can be
done, for the period before the annexation of 1140. The situation
on the frontier can be inferred from the description of the region
given by al-Idrīsī. The section of this text by Roger II's geographer
which concerns the Abruzzi is not the least interesting part of his
work. Readacted after the conquest, that is post-1140, it undoubt-
edly relied on earlier information gathered in the previous decade.

[55] *Chron. Casauriense*, 1005–7.

The hypothesis, suggested by H. Bresc and A. Nef, whereby data about the Abruzzi came from military officers entrusted with assembling information on the frontier situation, seems to me to need close examination.

At first sight the information furnished by al-Idrīsī is full of gaps and contradictions. Of the Abruzzi towns, he only mentions Ascoli (which he calls Tronto), and all that he says about this is that it is 'large, fertile and has abundant resources'.[56] Al-Idrīsī then describes the Abruzzi coast in summary fashion, as though he had taken this from a traveller's guide, with very few names given since, if one is to believe him, there was no coastal settlement of any importance.[57] Even for Ascoli, it is not made clear in the text that this was situated inland. But nevertheless the inquiry would appear to have exaggerated the importance of this town—the one situated furthest away from the Norman frontier. It was the first place after Campomarino that the observer deemed worthy of interest and to be a worthwhile destination, within a region that, from the southern border of Molise to Ancona was deemed to be a wilderness:

> Between Campomarino and Ancona there are twelve days or three hundred miles of deserted land. The population of this region takes refuge in the woods, and supports itself by hunting and searching for honey.[58]

This ethnographic observation is at first sight surprising, for it is clearly contradicted by an abundance of information given a few pages later about this very zone. While one admits that the geographer's information about this region has its gaps, it is hard to see them being at this point. Al-Idrīsī is thus trying to say something other that what he is seemingly telling us. The text does in fact have real coherence in that way that it separates two wealthy regions by an empty zone; this shorthand geography expressly contrasts Molise and the bulk of the Abruzzi from the urbanised and well-governed regions already ruled by King Roger. The evidence for this is the presence of a human void between Campomarino and Ascoli, a lack of civilised society within most of the relevant space. If this description is accepted, then by definition the region is a land of human savages, whose inhabitants practise neither agriculture nor commerce.

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[56] *Idrīsī, la Première Géographie de l'Occident,* eds. H. Bresc & A. Nef (Paris 1999), 384.
[57] On the geography of the Abruzzi coast, see Aquilano (1997).
[58] *Idrīsī,* 384.

They are therefore simple hunter-gatherers, predators in a primitive state before the institution of any social contract.[59] The economic activity of these people places them, in the geographer's opinion, squarely into an inferior situation. But, taken literally, this representation is false, that is clear, and a few pages further on al-Idrīsī himself provides the proof.

Why did he do this? The answer is that if, in this passage, geography does not necessarily serve to start a war, it serves to justify it. The Abruzzi region, lacking as it is claimed towns, commerce and agriculture, cannot be considered as anyone's rightful property— it is open for the taking. He says one thing more, very briefly—on the other side of this social vacuum there is a wealthy town, which was destined to be the target of the military expedition of 1140. The savagery of the inhabitants living in the forest, supported only by hunting and gathering, justifies in advance such colonising military adventures, that is to say involving the expropriation of the existing inhabitants, deemed to be without rights since they have no intelligent life nor wealth-creating activity. In other sections of his geography Idrīsī expressly correlates hunting and savagery—one thinks especially of the wild men he describes in Finland, although the latter, who survived entirely on hunting, were also distinguished by physical peculiarities that Idrīsī does not attribute to the inhabitants of the Abruzzi.

On the other hand he gives a lot of information of military value, at least for the land up to the Pescara river. He furnishes no details for the far side of the river. What we are told appears to have been drawn from the report of a military reconnaissance, something which can be seen simply by plotting the names he gives on a map. One can then see a genuine frontier line, based on the River Sangro and strengthened on the north-east by the town of Chieti and based in the north-west on the strongpoint of Pacentro. This zone is described with great care. The listing of fortresses is sometimes, though not always, accompanied by a brief description. The text is above all written to give distances, sometimes accompanied by directions. In other words, it would not be impossible to travel through the region described using this information; the text could thus serve as a guide for the staff officers charged with organising troop movements on

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[59] Le Goff (1985).

the frontier, either for defence or for an offensive based upon fixed lines of communication.

Chieti had been, as we have seen, part of the defensive system of the county of Loritello since the beginning of the twelfth century. One would expect it therefore to be part of Idrīsī's description. More surprising was the inclusion of Pacentro, at the other end of the most northerly line. Pacentro was a fortified town overlooking the *Conca Peligna*, the bowl in which lay the town of Sulmona, which was developing into an important population centre at this period. Pacentro appears therefore to have been an outpost, although one cannot say who then held it. It is not impossible that this was some Norman lord, or an indigenous baron who was subject to King Roger and part of his military planning—but this is no more than hypothesis.

One gap is striking—there is no mention of Manopello, the base of the most important lordship in the region, although the little *castrum* of Bucchianico, which was of military importance only a century or more earlier, is listed.[60] This place was on the other side of the valley from Manopello, and could thus act as an observation post. The line which al-Idrīsī describes did not stretch up to the Pescara but rested on the Sangro. Then, a group of places was listed going westwards towards Campania, as though al-Idrīsī was describing a flanking guard. This cartographic listing leaves the impression, even without making sense of the itineraries that al-Idrīsī suggests, that one is dealing with jumping-off points for an army on campaign, and that it is giving clear routes for an offensive towards either Chieti or Sulmona. The strategic goal is shown, Ascoli. After Lothar III's expedition of 1137 it was evident that a bulwark towards the north was a necessity for the Italo-Norman kingdom. We do not know for sure whether the County of Manopello had taken Lothar's side in 1137, but it would appear more than likely that this was the case. Here was a particularly interesting feature of Idrīsī's description—he gives us the limits of the county of Manopello, that is to say that he describes the contact between a zone of disorder and a peaceful and ordered region. A genuine frontier line with this county, or with its holder—a man whom King Roger must have considered to be his enemy—is delineated. One thus moves from the concept

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[60] Feller (1988a and 1988b).

of the frontier as fluid zone towards accepting the idea of the fron-
tier as a fixed line. The concept of the frontier march, in the
Carolingian sense of the term, no longer worked in this border region.
It was necessary therefore to depict this space in a way which showed
the preparations for war.

The conquest of Roger II and the integration of the Abruzzi in the Norman kingdom

The details of the operations carried out by Roger II and his sons
in 1140 are well-known; only the way in which he refashioned the
frontier is of interest to us here.[61] Roger travelled to the north in
the summer of 1140. He does not seem to have gone beyond the
Pescara river. During his march he confirmed those Abruzzi abbeys
who asked him for this in possession of their landed property. The
monks of Casauria came to make their submission and were seem-
ingly astonished not to have to give him money to obtain confirmation
of their property rights.[62] It is true that they found almost all the
castra that the abbey had once possessed taken away from them, even
those that they had themselves founded. Other establishments like
the Holy Saviour on Monte Maiella were apparently rather less
favoured, but the general policy of the ruler was clear—there would
be no restitution nor turning back to the past and, above all, the
landed fortunes of monastic houses would no longer rest on their
possession of castral seigneuries. Monasteries must in future draw
their revenues not from the exercise of their political rights but from
that of their economic ones.[63]

The Norman lordships, for their part, were reorganised some time
before the assembly which the king held at Silva Marca in 1142.[64]
The two counties which had appeared at the end of the eleventh
century were kept in being. The holder of the county of Manopello
was changed, evidently for reasons of political stability and it was
granted to a noble from Calabria of proven loyalty, who may have

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[61] Chalandon (1907), ii.94–7. Rivera (1926) gives the most detailed account.
[62] *Chron. Casauriense*, 888–9. *Roger II Diplomata*, 139–40 no. 49.
[63] Feller (1998a), 287–96. *Cat. Bar.* and *Cat. Bar. Commentario*, art. 1217. Casauria
appeared much less 'feudally' powerful than another Abruzzi monastery, S. Giovanni
in Venere. It retained no more than three *castra*, and all its fiefs together could
raise no more than fourteen knights.
[64] Cuozzo (1989), 105–22.

been a distant relative of the royal family. There was no change at the head of the county of Loreto; the count was a cousin of the king, and it would seem that he was not involved in what happened in 1137. The county of Abruzzo (*Aprutium*), organised since the ninth century round the town of Teramo was maintained in being, and perhaps even increased by the addition of some lands north of the Tronto in the *contado* of Ascoli. A member of the Attonid family, Robert, remained there and secured investiture from the king, who entrusted him, as he did the Count of Manopello, with the duty of acting as justiciar, thus granting him powers which were very similar to those which his ancestors had enjoyed two centuries earlier.[65] With 120 knights and 200 sergeants owed to the royal *expeditio*, Robert had an evident military importance in the aristocratic heirarchy. He appears to have surpassed even Count Bohemond of Manopello, who with the *augmentum* owed 92 knights and 200 sergeants.[66] Bohemond, it is true, was a constable and had therefore a position of command and co-ordination which acted as a counter-weight to the greater numerical strength of the Count of Aprutium's following. It is also noteworthy that, both before and after 1140, the new powers were installed and maintained at places other than the episcopal towns of Penne and Chieti. Their bases were at Teramo and, above all, at Sulmona, somewhere now growing more important.

Sulmona was the only place in the region where a royal palace was established or where a chamberlain was based—in the 1150s his name was Samarus of Trani. His function was to hear minor legal cases, and to look after royal rights and property, within an ill-defined district which included both the territory subject to the town and the lands of St. Clement of Casauria and St. Bartholomew of Carpineto.[67] Acting as a judge he also appeared as the king's direct representative in the region, able to intervene directly in legal cases provided that the count-justiciars were not involved.[68] Sulmona was therefore an administrative centre of increasing importance— the fact that it had played no political role up to then acted as a point in its favour from the royal point of view.

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[65] Jamison (1913), 458–61. Rivera (1926), 248. Cuozzo (1989), 109–112. *Cat. Bar.* and *Cat. Bar. Commentario*, arts. 1030, 1095, 1013.

[66] *Cat. Bar*, pp. 190–1, art. 1030 (Robert); pp. 183–4, art. 1013 (Bohemond).

[67] Feller (1998a), 770–2.

[68] Jamison (1913), 398.

The territorial reorganisation of the Abruzzi was still incomplete, and it was indeed not finalised until the middle of the thirteenth century when Conrad IV founded L'Aquila as a strongpoint of the frontier of his kingdom with the papal states.

Conclusion: social tensions and change between the eleventh and twelfth centuries

Abruzzi society experienced plenty of tensions during the eleventh century. It was indeed a society in crisis. The old political and social order, dating back to the Carolingian period if not earlier, and which was based on the free peasant smallholding, albeit as part of the seigneury—what we usually call allodial property—withered and collapsed from c. 1025/30 onwards, after the initial phase of the *incastellamento* movement. From the 1020s the nature of our charter evidence changes. The agrarian contracts which had previously constituted a substantial portion of it disappeared. From the 1030s property prices, hitherto maintained by a slow but regular secular pressure, declined; less land became available and prices fell.[69] It was, above, all small plots of land which were affected by this decline in prices, as though the market which had been favourable to minor proprietors was no longer so. At the same time as this alteration in the market took effect, all the evidence suggests that seigneurial exactions were increasing. The dues levied in the few surviving agrarian contacts from this period are heavy, far more so than they had been in the preceding century, and especially so considering the low value of the lands from which they were exacted.

In addition, from the 1030s onwards the chronicles contain numerous mentions of local conflicts. These do not seem to have been a major problem for Abruzzi society in the tenth century, but from now on they were frequent and mark the growth of tensions within the aristocratic class. The principal reason for the displacement of the Borelli towards the south would seem most likely to have been land hunger which could not be satisfied within their existing locality. The persecutions about which the monks of Casauria complained in the 1030s, and those of Carpineto similarly a generation later, were provoked by the rivalries existing between aristocratic kin groups

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[69] Feller (1998a), 404–18.

in the midst of a reorganisation around their *castra* and the monks entrenched on lands which they had often held for a very long time, but which they had the greatest difficulty in defending.

The combination of these factors seriously destabilised the region. The Normans may well have been called in as arbitrators in these disputes, or at least to reinforce one or other of the parties. That was what the Casauria chronicler suggested, when he directly accused the Sansoneschi of being allies of Robert I of Loritello in the 1060s, even though they had been dependents of the monastery since the 1030s.[70] The Sansoneschi also remained in the following of Hugh Mamouzet right through his career. Indeed, that career ended when the alliance with this kin group broke down—it was while he was besieging Prezza, a fortress of the Sansoneschi patrimony and the principal base for their expansion, that Mamouzet was taken prisoner. This change of fortune worked in favour of Casauria. Meanwhile the monastery, right up to the eleventh hour, hoped for the victorious return of a German emperor, and only passed into the camp of King Roger when there was absolutely no viable alternative to this.

Those Normans who were present in the Abruzzi between 1070 and 1140 were fully-fledged participants in the local political game. Their aim was not to attach themselves at all costs to the ethnic group from which they had sprung, but to acquire property and gain power for themselves. The career of Hugh Mamouzet, insofar as we know enough to write about it, is very striking in this respect. From the time of his arrival, he lived according to Lombard law, describing his origin as Frankish rather than Norman; thus he made a claim to be part of the local nobility, for whom membership of the Frankish ethnic group had always been a significant mark of distinction.[71] At the same time, he was able to maintain a balance between, and keep his distance from, great rival lords like Bishop Rainulf of Chieti and the abbot of Casauria.

This does not show that the newcomers' entry on the scene had substantially altered the rules whereby society functioned. From the 1020s it had become essential to define the new rules of alliance and aid, before *incastellamento* could acquire a military dimension. Local nobles began to utilise formulae of a 'feudal' type, no doubt

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[70] *Chron. Casauriense*, 863. For the ways in which this kin group expanded, see Feller (1998a), 584–7. BNF, ms. lat. 5411, fols. 194v–195r.

[71] *Chronicon di Carpineto*, pp. 297–300, document no. 120.

just as sophisticated as those employed by the Normans at the same period. These appeared at an early date, being used in *convenientiae* agreements from the 1030s onwards. Homage appeared c. 1050, in the context of the bitter disputes then raging between the region's local lords. It was in no sense a Norman import; it was rather a consequence of imperial policies put into practice by the reformed papacy, which also used this as a juridical means of keeping the peace within the local aristocracy and stabilising the local hierarchy.[72] Homage allowed the formalisation of alliances and the establishment of pacts of protection, and not just the creation of an efficient military hierarchy.

The Normans were, for their part, much more precise and effective on points of purely 'feudal' law, and especially on the legal norms which related to warfare, such as the rendability of fortresses, the *restor* (for the replacement of horses), the aid, and the definition of service in the host. Such dispositions gave a clear and carefully-defined military context to the relations between man and man documented in the *convenientiae*. The solutions which they found made their army effective. The absence of such satisfactory practical dispositions undoubtedly helps to explain the defeats of the Attonid levy when faced with Norman attack.

In addition, frontier lords found it to be in their own interests to ally with the Normans. For as long as the legal and social organisation inherited from the Carolingians continued, it was difficult to increase or impose seigneurial burdens. It was particularly difficult to break the system of long-term agreements which was generally prevalent, even though inefficient in providing the lord with an economic rent. The arrival of the Normans coincided with a very rapid growth in seigneurial impositions. Such levies ceased to be limited by contract and became purely customary. Labour services were imposed and peasant property contracted under seigneurial pressure. After the 1070s we no longer find evidence for real peasant ownership of property in the Abruzzi—in contrast to what happened in Tuscany, for example. A genuine property market, whether expressed in agrarian contracts, sales or donations, disappears from the documentation. All the archival sources from the region, both original charters and chartulary copies, are now completely silent about this,

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[72] Feller (1998a), 601–2, (1998b).

although there is abundant evidence from the preceding periods. The most tenable hypothesis is that independent peasant landholding collapsed in the face of Norman aggression, but this was to the profit of all the local lords, whatever their ethnic origin. By the beginning of the thirteenth century the seigneurial régime in the Abruzzi was in fact one of the strictest in central Italy. Internal social phenomena interacted with the dynamics of external attack to accelerate a process of fusion within the aristocracy on the basis of an increase in the pressure exerted on the peasant class. This also aligned the Abruzzi better with the kingdom of Sicily, especially since the urban sector in this region was very weak, and because of this peasants had little or no margin for manoeuvre. The Norman attack was a convenient mask behind which seigneurial decisions made in the years from 1030 to 1050, to increase the burden of exactions and to reassert their control over the land, could be hidden. The disorder fomented then was indeed a reality. It allowed the reconstruction of society on a seigneurial and 'feudal' basis, and it entailed the brutal liquidation of the Carolingian and post-Carolingian social order.

Map III. The Abruzzo

FD 2002

Ascoli Piceno● *Tronto*

APRUTIUM

ADRIATIC SEA

Teramo● *Tordino*

Vomano

M A R S I A

Penne●

Loreto● Chieti●

Carpineto▲ *Pescara* Bucchianico● Ortona

Casauria▲ Manopello●

CHIETI *Sangro*

V A L V A Sulmona●

Pacentro● Termoli●

Campomarino●

TERRA BORELLENSIS *Trigno*

Trivento● Larino●

Alfedena● Pietrabbondante● Rotello●

San Vincenzo
al Voltumo▲ *Fortore*

Monte Cassino▲ Isernia● *Biferno*

Venafro●

Benevento●

Volturno Capua●

TYRRHENIAN SEA

0   50 km

▲ Monastery

THE TYRRHENIAN COASTAL CITIES
UNDER THE NORMANS

Patricia Skinner

This chapter explores the impact of the Normans on the former duchies of Gaeta, Naples and Amalfi. Despite their differing archival traditions and the variations in survivals of charters in these cities for the twelfth century, their histories can be usefully juxtaposed during this period, as three city-states with common traditions of Roman laws, ruling dukes and frequent exchanges with each other confronted the arrival of the Normans.[1] Although there are elements of their histories which intersect between the latter part of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries (it would be possible to continue to the German takeover of 1196, but many of the lines of political and social development discussed in this chapter were in place by 1150), we should note that the three cities had very different experiences of the Norman conquest. Gaeta was caught up in the expansion of the conqueror of Capua, prince Richard I, whilst Amalfi submitted to the other Norman leader, Robert Guiscard, having already been briefly ruled by the princes of Salerno in the mid-eleventh century. Naples, on the other hand, withstood military pressure from both Robert and Richard, particularly the latter, and remained outside the Norman orbit, but not unaffected by the Norman expansion, until 1130. In this sense, the comparison of their histories is worthwhile as they are often (especially in the case of Naples and Amalfi) treated as part of the same Campanian picture, when in fact the details of their histories present some profound differences.

Our evidence comes from both documentary and narrative sources. This chapter focuses on the extensive charter collections of the cities, particularly Amalfi and Gaeta (less so for Naples), and the chronicles

of the period, in particular those of Amatus of Montecassino, Geoffrey Malaterra and Alexander of Telese. The charters are almost all edited, but have suffered different fates during the twentieth century. For example, whilst the majority of the Gaeta material was published by, and is still kept at, the abbey of Montecassino, that of Naples and Amalfi is preserved in a far more fragmented way.[2] A substantial amount of Amalfitan and Neapolitan primary material is no longer extant, having been destroyed with the rest of the Naples State Archive by fire in 1943.[3] This has severe consequences for reconstructing Neapolitan history in the twelfth century, in particular. Were it nor for the fact that the major Neapolitan publication campaigns took place in the nineteenth century, we should also struggle to document the late eleventh century as well.[4]

It is important to note that the narrative sources differ in their coverage of the conquest and settlement of the three cities and their regions. Amatus of Montecassino wrote his chronicle in the 1080s, focused largely on Campania and wrote his work as a eulogy of Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua.[5] Geoffrey Malaterra, writing in the last decade of the eleventh century, has been called the 'official biographer of [count] Roger', Robert Guiscard's brother, and although his work contains some material on Robert's activities, it does not deal in nearly so much detail with events in Campania.[6] Alexander of Telese's work, written in the 1130s, focuses on a later period as King Roger II rose to power, and presents us with an opportunity to compare this period with that of the conquest.[7] Through the evidence of Amatus and Malaterra, Robert Guiscard's career can be documented in some detail.[8] That of his contemporary, Richard of Capua, however, is less easy to trace, and has yet to receive an articulated study.[9] This is due in part to the contemporary histori-

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[2] The charters at Montecassino were published in *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* The Amalfi documents have been published in several different volumes, *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi, Perg. di Amalfi*, and *Codice Perris*. For Naples, see note 4 below.

[3] Schwarz (1978b), Schwarz (1979), and Schwarz (1980) provide extensive discussion.

[4] *Regesta Neapolitana*, in *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam Pertinentia*, ed. B. Capasso, vols. II.i (Naples, 1885) and II.ii (1892) is the main edition. Other documents were published without an editor in *Archivio storico per le provicie napoletane* viii (1883) and xii (1887) [Henceforth *ASNap*]. See also *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* and Capasso (1902).

[5] *Amatus*, lxvii–lxx.

[6] *Malaterra*, vii. Loud (2000a), 4–5.

[7] *Al. Tel.*, xxiv–xlv, discusses this work.

[8] For this, see now Loud (2000a).

[9] The best short survey remains Loud (1985), 38–64.

ography: almost nothing firm is known about Richard and his son Jordan apart from the bare bones of their expansion. Thus the history of the Norman conquest of Gaeta, touched upon in my book, leaves many questions unanswered.[10] We might characterise the experiences of Gaeta and Naples as having been far more violent than those of Amalfi, however. Richard and Robert went to war on the former two cities, whilst Robert's reputation was enough to gain control over Amalfi, which was at that time experiencing increasingly hostile relations with its neighbour, prince Gisulf of Salerno. The key point to note, however, is that all three narrative works describing the Norman arrival tell the story from the victors' outlook, and the indigenous population of southern Italy is almost invariably cast as unworthy or deceitful, rendering the conquest legitimate and sanctioned by God. The charter evidence tells a rather different tale, as we shall see.

Political histories: changes in rule

It is not my intention to dwell too long on the process of conquest, but a brief resumé of events may serve to introduce the social and political developments which the Normans caused and/or accelerated.[11]

In Gaeta the last of a long line of indigenous dukes is documented in 1032. The city fell to Lombard Capuan rule from 1036, and when Guaimar IV of Salerno conquered Capua in 1038 he took over Gaeta as well—he appears in a Gaetan dating clause of 1040.[12] There seems to have been a brief return of the native house to power in 1042, but at the same time Guaimar's puppet duke, the Norman Rainulf of Aversa, is documented as being in the second year of his rule that year.[13] The chronicle of Montecassino records that the Gaetans then called in Atenulf of Aquino to rule them on account of the ill-will of Guaimar in 1045.[14] After a relatively successful period in power, Atenulf died in 1061, and by this time the growing threat of the Normans becomes apparent in the Gaetan

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[10] Skinner (1995a), 149–209.
[11] The following discussion is based on Skinner (1995a), 152–60, 202–3, 206–7.
[12] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* i.346–8 no. 174.
[13] Leo: *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.,* i.349–53 nos. 176 and 177; Rainulf: *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.,* i.353–5 no. 178. *Amatus,* II. 32, p. 98, reports that on Rainulf's death his nephew Asclettin took his place as duke.
[14] *Chron. Cas.* II.74, p. 315.

documentation. Amatus reported that the Gaetans had already been involved in the anti-Norman activities of pope Leo IX in the middle of the century, with little success.[15] Atenulf's widow Maria, left as regent for her young son, organised an anti-Norman pact with outlying centres in the duchy in 1062, but to no avail.[16] The Norman prince, Richard I, and his son Jordan took over soon afterwards and are recorded as dukes from 1064.[17]

Thereafter Gaeta's history was one of a series of puppet dukes: Richard's son-in-law William of Montreuil in fact revolted and tried to marry Maria in a futile gesture of independence.[18] He was replaced by Lando (1064/5, documented as 'former duke' in 1093), whom Amatus suggests was a member of the Traettan branch of the former ducal house and married Richard's daughter;[19] and Danimboldus (1066/7), the latter an even more shadowy figure in the record. The career of Geoffrey Ridel (1068–1086) is rather better-known, and we might speculate that this was the point at which Gaeta fell out of Capuan control into the hands of Robert Guiscard, as Ridel had been one of the latter's lieutenants during his campaign of conquest in Sicily in the early 1060s.[20] However, Geoffrey's own documents, such as one issued at Pontecorvo in c.1075, show the rulers as Richard, Jordan and Geoffrey himself.[21] Geoffrey handed on the duchy to his son Rainald in 1086. A revolt on his death in 1091 brought Landulf, possibly a descendant of the native ducal dynasty, to power in 1092, but Norman rule was restored thereafter under William Blosseville (1103), Richard de Aquila the count of Pico

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[15] *Amatus*, III.24, p. 140. *Malaterra*, I.14, p. 15, on the other hand reports only that a German army assisted Leo.

[16] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.41–4 no. 215: the agreement was that none of the parties were to make any treaty with the Normans for one year, hardly a firm gesture of resistance.

[17] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.*, ii.57–9 no. 222. It is interesting to note that in 1063 Maria and her son, Atenulf II, issued a document making a donation to the ancient foundation of St. Theodore in the city, traditional beneficiary of earlier ducal gifts by the native Docibilan dynasty, and that Atenulf in this document was described as 'domini natu' consul and duke, a last defiant message of legitimate rule by birthright in the face of Capuan aggression: *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.*, ii.48–51 no. 218.

[18] *Amatus*, VI.1, p. 259.

[19] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.153–5 no. 268. *Amatus*, VI.1, 258–64.

[20] *Amatus*, V.9, p. 231.

[21] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.*, ii.116–18 no. 249; however, it may well be that the political situation in Pontecorvo was slightly different from that at Gaeta, being Geoffrey's main base and thus demanding more scrupulous acknowledgement of his overlords in its documents.

(1105–1112), Jonathan (1112–1121) and his uncle Richard II (1121–1134). These last two were again descendants of the Capuan princely house, indicating Gaeta's shifting position in these years among different Norman claimants.

Amalfi's history also included a period of direct rule by Guaimar IV of Salerno in the 1040s using an indigenous puppet duke, Manso. From 1052 autonomous rule was restored by Manso's political opponents, who ruled until the early 1070s and even joined Richard of Capua in attacking Guaimar's successor, Gisulf.[22] Amatus ascribes the Salernitan failure to hold onto Amalfi to the fact that prince Gisulf depended on their money to hire his mercenaries.[23] This seems to be confirmed by Malaterra, who speaks of the Amalfitans offering support to Robert Guiscard in his assault on Salerno.[24] In 1073, owing to Gisulf's continuing mistreatment (says Amatus), Amalfi placed itself under Robert Guiscard's protection as the Norman homed in on the larger city (he took it in 1076).[25] Robert and his son, Roger, whom he had by the Salernitan princess Sichelgaita,[26] are documented as in the sixth year of their co-rulership in 1079, and Roger in the first year of sole rule in 1089.[27] This may reflect some uncertainty by the Amalfitan scribes about who was in charge after Robert's death in 1085, or indeed the gap may conceal a power struggle which the documents do not record. Schwarz notes the existence of a document of 1088, preserved in two later copies, dated by the first year of prince Gisulf's rule, indicating a possible coup by the Salernitan.[28] Either way, Roger's rule from 1089 was not without incident. An Amalfitan rebellion took place in 1095/6: the Amalfitan documents have no dating clauses at all until 1097, when Marinus the *sebastos* is stated as being in his first year in power.[29]

Malaterra's treatment of this episode is illuminating, in that he was explicit in his contempt for the rebels. Roger, he said, was still young and believed that the 'Lombards' and Normans were equally loyal to him since he shared the blood of both races, but the

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[22] *Amatus*, IV.9–10, pp. 188–9.
[23] *Amatus*, III.28, p. 143.
[24] *Malaterra*, III.3, p. 58.
[25] *Amatus*, VIII.6–8, pp. 347–9.
[26] On Sichelgaita's far from shadowy career, see now Skinner (2000a).
[27] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.119–21 no. 74, *Codice Perris*, i.134–6 no. 84.
[28] Schwarz (1978b), 133; another copy in Schwarz (1980), 116.
[29] *Codice Perris*, i.144–8 no. 89. Schwarz (1979), 147, has another document of 1098 dated by the second year of 'Marinus, *pansebastos, sebastos* and duke'.

Amalfitans, 'to shake off the yoke of our people and the duke', refused to pay tribute. Malaterra blamed the failure of the subsequent siege of the city on the fact that Roger's half-brother, Bohemond, answered the call to crusade in 1096 and withdrew his army.[30] We should remember that Malaterra was writing from a base in Sicily rather than close to the scene of this action, which may explain why he lumps Amalfitans in with the 'Lombards'. Amatus, closer to the region at Montecassino, was more careful in his distinction between the inhabitants of the former duchies and the Lombard principalities.

A further blank in the documentation occurs until Roger is documented 'post restoration' in 1102.[31] He was succeeded by his son William, who ruled for eighteen years until his death in 1127. Then 'duke Roger', the future king of Sicily, appears in the dating clauses for 1128 and 1129.[32] When he became king in 1130 Roger seems to have used some force to counteract a last episode of Amalfitan resistance, which may have been caused by a change in the method of rulership from a largely co-operative sovereignty to a more interventionist style. In Alexander of Telese's biography, this change is characterised by Roger's demand to cities such as Salerno and Amalfi to hand over control of their defended citadels and walls to him. Salerno submitted, but the refusal of the Amalfitans led to another siege, involving the defence of the stronghold of Ravello as well, before both the Ravellesi and Amalfitans were forced to capitulate.[33]

Naples was ruled by its indigenous dukes without a break after a brief Capuan intervention in the late 1020s. The city was besieged, unsuccessfully, by Richard of Capua and Robert Guiscard in 1077,[34] and resisted all attempts to take it over until its submission to king Roger in 1130. The failure of the Normans to capture the city earlier may have been partly due to their leaders' inherently competitive nature. Whilst Robert and Richard were reported as collaborating in attacking the city, we must remember that each was trying to forge his own power base. Naples would have been a wealthy prize for either to take. In the event, neither was able to break down its formidable defences, the strength of which was attested by Alexander

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[30] *Malaterra*, IV.24, p. 102.
[31] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.163 no. 100.
[32] *Codice Perris*, i.208–11 no. 119; *Perg. di Amalfi*, i.48 no. 36.
[33] *Al. Tel.*, I.7, II.7, 9–11, pp. 10, 26–8.
[34] *Amatus*, VII.29, pp. 322–3, and VIII.25, pp. 366–7, reports the co-operation between the two Norman leaders in their respective campaigns against Naples and Salerno, and the former city's fierce resistance.

of Telese.[35] The uneasy relationship between Robert and the Capuan princes is documented in Malaterra, who reports Robert's attack on Capua under Jordan's rule in 1083. Jordan was, however, an *elegantissimus miles*, surrounded by equally refined soldiers, and Robert was forced to content himself with devastating the Capuan countryside.[36] Only later, under Jordan's son and duke Roger, did the Capuans submit to ducal rule, something which, Malaterra pointedly highlights, Robert Guiscard had been unable to bring about.[37]

Naples' subsequent history is outlined in some detail in Alexander of Telese, who reports, 'wonderful to relate', that the city eventually fell in 1130/1 not by the sword but by the words of Sergius, the *magister militum*, when he submitted.[38] It then became a centre of resistance to Roger's rule in 1133–4 when Rainulf of Caiazzo rebelled, supported by Robert of Capua. However, when Rainulf was briefly reconciled with the king, Sergius of Naples initially refused to submit. Only when the king attacked the city again did Sergius come out and repeat his capitulation; Alexander represents this second submission, again without bloodshed, as a *res valde stupenda*.[39] This, however, was not the end of Neapolitan resistance. A rumour of Roger's death in 1135 led the Neapolitans to defy the Normans a third time, again in co-operation with Rainulf and Robert of Capua. Robert had enlisted Pisan naval support, but the opportunist Pisans used Neapolitan resistance as an excuse to sail south and attack Amalfi, before leaving reinforcements with the Neapolitans.[40] Alexander's chronicle ends before the final Neapolitan submission in 1137, but in the years 1135–7 there are signs of autonomous, non-ducal, internal government in its documents. Falco of Benevento gives a graphic account of the siege in 1136, of the death of duke Sergius VII fighting alongside king Roger in 1137, and of Roger's visit to the city when he gave five *modia* of land and five villeins to every soldier.[41]

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[35] *Al. Tel.*, III.19–20, pp. 69–70. The Cassinese chronicle reports that Richard I died during the siege of Naples in April 1078, and that the city was saved by the intervention of St. Januarius and, more prosaically, because Jordan was less interested in helping Robert, *Chron. Cas.*, III.45, p. 423.

[36] *Malaterra*, III.35, p. 78.

[37] *Malaterra*, IV.26, p. 102.

[38] *Al. Tel.*, II.12, pp. 28–9.

[39] *Al. Tel.* II.64, 67, pp. 54–6.

[40] *Al. Tel.* III.24–7, pp. 72–3.

[41] *Falco*, 176, 198, 234–6. I am indebted to Graham Loud for drawing my attention to this reference.

The surviving Neapolitan charters reflect the city's long-term resis-
tance to takeover, continuing to be dated by Byzantine emperors
until at least 1128.[42] Since Neapolitan dukes had frequently borne
honorific Byzantine titles, such as imperial *protosebastos*, this is not
surprising.[43] As late as 1134 a transaction in the city recorded the
permission of Sergius, consul and duke.[44] Submission to Norman
power was therefore late in relation to the other two Tyrrhenian
cities, and the first charter from the city thereafter is dated by king
Roger's rule.[45]

Social disruption: the process of conquest

The anxiety caused by the process of conquest is also explicitly
referred to in documents which note the presence of Norman war-
riors and/or modify property transactions to take account of the
uncertain political and economic climate. For example, in 1063, at
Amalfi, Blacta, wife of John, and two other vendors, possibly her
mother-in-law and brother-in-law, sold land worth sixty-five *solidi* in
order to ransom her husband from the Normans.[46] Fifteen years
later, the abbot of St. Gregory Regionario in Naples, 'which monastery
has no congregation as the monks have left the city on account of
war with the Normans who surround the city with prince Richard',
disputed lost property with Andrew, the abbot of St. Felix in
Pumilianum, outside Naples, claiming that Andrew had used the war
as cover for seizing the property.[47] It is interesting to note that it is
Richard who is identified as the enemy, and there is no mention of
Robert Guiscard's help.

Further evidence of the disruption of war comes in a Neapolitan
document of 1087, again centring on a dispute over land. The heirs
of Peter Palamenestra claimed that their father had left half of an
estate to the monastery of SS Sergius and Bacchus, but that while
the Normans had been in the area they had agreed to allow the
monastery to hold the whole estate and pay rent for half to them.

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[42] Cava, *Arca* xxii.65.
[43] Cava, *Arca* xviii.65 (1107).
[44] Cava, *Arca* xxiii.73.
[45] *ASNap* viii (1883), 333 no. 4.
[46] *Perg. di Amalfi*, i. no. 20.
[47] *Monumenta ad Neapolitani Ducatus Historiam Pertinentia*, ed. B. Capasso, ii(1) (Naples 1885), 321–2 no. 528.

Now they were claiming the half of the estate that belonged to them, but had to give security to the monastery when it produced Peter's will giving it the whole property.[48] Here we see the war being employed to muddy the picture of who precisely the land belonged to, with the heirs emphasising the role of memory in their attempt to win some land. Such a scenario may have been played out many times in the Neapolitan courts in the aftermath of the siege, perhaps sometimes successfully when the opponent did not have such clear written evidence to produce.

More direct evidence of the Norman impact comes from Gaeta, where prince Jordan recorded in 1078 that he had confiscated the *castellum* or fortified village of Suio from its indigenous rulers because of their misdeed (*culpam fecerunt*).[49] Their error is not recorded: presumably even vague resistance, or perhaps their documented involvement in the anti-Norman pact of 1062, was enough to condemn them.[50]

Social structures: continuity or change?

But what happened next? What longer-term impact did the presence of the Normans have on the social structures of the three duchies? Is the relative continuity outlined by Graham Loud in the Lombard parts of Campania reflected in the histories of the ex-Byzantine cities of Campania and southern Lazio?[51] And did the entrenched social patterns of the cities have any effect on the newcomers? We can explore these questions from four main angles. From the chronicles and some of the charters it is possible to see how the newcomers set about governing their acquisitions. Secondly, the charters also hint at land and property acquired by the Normans, although perhaps not as clearly as might be expected. Third, we can try to estimate how the Normans impacted upon the lively commercial activities of the cities, particularly Amalfi and Gaeta. Finally, and most debatably, the charter and chronicle evidence has been taken together to argue that, by the mid-twelfth century, the Normans had introduced a significant shift in landholding and military organisation

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[48] *Ibid.*, 326–7 no. 341.

[49] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.120–2 no. 251.

[50] *Amatus*, VII.10, p. 302, however, records that the lords of both Suio and Traetto surrendered to Robert Guiscard in 1073.

[51] Loud (1996).

in the South, the so-called 'feudalisation' of the peninsula. Whilst mid-
to late-twelfth-century sources can be used to illustrate the latter phe-
nomenon, earlier material cannot support the idea that this process,
characterised by the granting of land for military service and the
introduction of terminology describing personal ties of service into
the documentation, was already underway by the early part of the
century.[52] The debate has been sharp, with much Italian historiog-
raphy emphasising the strength of local structures and their survival
in the face of the Norman influx. Other writers, in particular Errico
Cuozzo, see strong, pre-existing conditions for the development of
so-called 'feudal' structures brought to fruition by the newcomers.[53]

The practice of Norman rule

Where Norman ducal rule is documented, that is, in Amalfi and
Gaeta, the light touch employed by the rulers is striking. If anything,
their documents express a strong theme of continuity of rule. For
example, in 1091 duke Roger confirmed to Mauro, bishop of Maiori,
all the concessions, made by ex-duke Mastalus and all other dukes,
of the shoreline of Maiori.[54] Three years later, he made a further
gift in Maiori to the bishop.[55] Of course, Roger's rule was interrupted
by the rebellion in favour of Marinus the *sebastos* (1096–1100), so it
is clear that even a light touch was not always welcome. However, in
1107 Roger was once again patronising the convent of St. Mary
at Fontanella, and his son William seems to have continued the pol-
icy of appeasement in 1113, when he confirmed to the abbot of
SS Quiricus and Iulicte all of the possessions at Maiori by the
seashore, which had been sold to the abbey by the rebel duke Marinus
the *sebastos*.[56]

A document from Gaeta in 1121, in which Duke Richard II
confirmed property to a member of one of the leading families of
the city, Campus Pedeacetu, reflected similar tactics of patronising
existing elites.[57] Similarly, in 1134 he restored property to a church

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[52] Skinner (2000b) discusses this problem further.
[53] Cuozzo (1995) and (1998).
[54] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.139 no. 87.
[55] Schwarz (1978b), 103, who refutes earlier arguments that this document is
falsified.
[56] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.176–7, 190–2, nos. 107 and 114.
[57] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.209–11 no. 297.

in the city.[58] Perhaps more significantly, in 1123 Richard promised the named consuls and all of the *maiores* of Gaeta that he would leave the copper coins called *follari* unchanged, and six years later conceded the building of the new *curia* in the city to the consuls.[59]

Clearly, therefore, Gaeta's internal government in the early twelfth century was being handled by local men under Norman sovereignty, a phenomenon I have discussed in more detail elsewhere.[60] The form this took, a consulate, was a novelty in the South, but the men who became consuls were from established families within the duchy, suggesting that the relative power vacuum of the latter part of the eleventh century, when successive rulers fought over the city, had enabled the local elite to survive almost unscathed and build its own administrative network. Early signs of such groups had emerged in the border area of Gaeta in the mid-eleventh century: the counts of Traetto made a land agreement in the presence of the *boni homines* of that settlement in 1049.[61] By 1062 the involvement of non-ruling citizens in the affairs of the dukes and counts had spread to Gaeta itself: the parties agreeing to an anti-Norman stance with duchess Maria and her son also addressed their undertaking to 'the people of Gaeta', and a year later Maria and Atenulf themselves made a gift with the consent of the bishop, a judge and the Gaeta people.[62] The drift towards some form of collectivity had its eleventh-century culmination in a document of 1094 (during a particularly obscure period of ducal rule), when the *boni homines* of Gaeta are seen regulating building in the city.[63] So whilst the Normans were apparently in control as sovereigns of the city, the internal government remained in the hands of the Gaetans themselves.

This collectivity of action is reflected less clearly elsewhere. For example, at Amalfi in 1092 a court case was settled in the presence of *boni homines*,[64] but its later internal hierarchy is difficult to trace, beyond Malaterra's vague reference to the *potentiores* of the city,[65] and the use of Byzantine titles (see below). The population of Ravello,

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[58] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.256–8 no. 326.
[59] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.215–17, 231–4, nos. 301 and 311.
[60] Skinner (1995b).
[61] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* i.369–70 no. 187.
[62] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.41–4, 48–51, nos. 215 and 218 respectively.
[63] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.158–9 no. 271.
[64] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi,* i.143–4 no. 89.
[65] *Malaterra,* III.3, p. 58.

meanwhile, may have drawn on their leading men to govern that city. A document of 1096 features *omnes populos Rabellenses* giving up property to the church of SS Mary, Trifo and Blasius there.[66] Much later, under the Norman kingdom, the *stratigotus* of Ravello is documented holding a court with his judges and *boni homines*.[67] Frustratingly, we cannot tell whether these two points formed part of a continuous development of Ravellese internal government, which the Normans adopted, or whether the *boni homines* appeared only when there was a Norman official in the city. Similarly, there is no indication in the Amalfitan documents of any continuity between the *boni homines* of 1092 and those accompanying the *stratigotus* of that city in 1183.[68] What *had* clearly happened, though, was the drifting away of Ravello from Amalfitan rule, and the creation of its own autonomous identity, reflecting the phenomenon of increasing localisation which is also visible at Gaeta. Even at Naples, where the indigenous dukes were most securely established, there was a brief period just prior to the Norman conquest of the city during which some form of local control by aristocratic families appears to have replaced or existed alongside ducal rule. This was expressed, for example, in land transactions where permission was given by 'the most noble men' of specific regions of the city, suggesting some form of internal devolution of government.[69]

One expression of the tenacity of local structures under Norman rule in the first half of the century was the preservation and use in the charter evidence of Byzantine honorific titles which, if they no longer signalled direct dependence on Byzantium, marked the elite members of society in all three cities. The duke of Naples is documented as an imperial *protosebastos* in 1107.[70] In Gaeta we only have one twelfth-century example, Drogo son of Leo *gloriosi ipati*, clearly connected with the ducal house but bearing a Norman name by 1153, when he is documented.[71] In the eleventh century, by contrast, the use of the honorific *magnificus* is particularly noticeable in the Gaetan documents.[72]

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[66] Schwarz (1980), 61.
[67] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.267–9 no. 153 (1150).
[68] *Codice Perris*, i.331–4 no. 173.
[69] Skinner (1995a), 207.
[70] Cava, *Arca*, xviii.65.
[71] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.278–80 no. 342.
[72] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* i.317–19, 321–3, 367–9, nos. 161, 163, 186; *ibid.*, ii.4–6, 86–8. 89–91, 156–8, nos. 197, 235, 237 and 270.

Amalfi presents the densest evidence of the use of Byzantine honorifics. Earlier dukes had enjoyed a range of titles, such as John, 'glorious duke and imperial patrician, *anthipatus* and *vesti*', documented in 1063.[73] We have already seen the rebel duke, Marinus the *sebastos*, in the late eleventh century, and more examples are recorded lower down the hierarchy.[74] These titles thin out considerably by 1140, suggesting that the hierarchy they expressed was not part of the thinking in the new kingdom. Once again, it seems that prior to Roger II's ascendancy, the Normans were unable (or unwilling) to embark on a major reorganisation of local hierarchies. However, the memory of the prestige brought by titles persisted beyond 1130: in 1194 a certain Bartholomew described himself as 'son of Mauro, son of John de Pantaleo imperial *dissipatus* de Mauro count'.[75]

Norman landowners

Remarkably few Normans are documented in the charter evidence from the three cities, either identifying themselves as Norman or, more dubiously, with Norman-sounding names. In 1087 Angerius the Norman made a gift of land near Amalfi to the abbey of St. Quiricus there.[76] The document was written at Nocera, closer to Salerno where far more Normans are documented.[77] In the same year, in a document written at Traetto, Drogo the Frank and Stephania his wife made a gift of two pieces of land and a house near Traetto to the monastery of St. Theodore in Gaeta. It is often difficult to find out how incoming Normans obtained their property in such

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[73] Schwarz (1979), 131.

[74] They include Tauro the imperial *anthipatus* as a witness (*Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.166 and 178 nos. 101 and 108, *Codice Perris*, i.153–5 no. 92); Sergius the imperial *protonobilissimus* and Marinus imperial *protonobilissimus* (*ASNap* viii (1883), 158 no. 14); Mauro imperial *protonobilissimus*, son of Sergius, as a witness (*Perg. di Amalfi*, i.53 no. 36, *Codice Perris*, i.162 no. 97, *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.172, 195 and 231, nos 104, 117 and 135); Pantaleo the imperial *patricius* writing a document (*Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.178 no. 108); Mauro *coropalatus*, a witness (*Perg. di Amalfi*, i.53 no. 36, *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.195–7 nos 117 and 118, *Codice Perris*, i.182 no. 106); Mauro *protonobilissimus* and judge as a witness (*Codice Perris*, i.223 no. 126, *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.238–40 nos. 139–40, who may be the same man as the son of Sergius mentioned earlier); and Mauro imperial *protovesti* son of Petrocci (*Codice Perris*, i.171 no. 101).

[75] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.448–50 no. 233.

[76] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.133–4 no. 83. For this family, Loud (1996), 336–7.

[77] Drell (1999) emphasises the importance that the memory (and thus the citation) of Lombard and Norman ancestry had for the two major communities in the principality of Salerno, hence perhaps the greater Norman visibility there.

transactions, but in this case Drogo states that his father-in-law had been the previous owner.[78]

Such direct evidence of intermarriage between Normans and local women is extremely rare in the charters of the three cities under review here, but is again much more common in the Salernitan material.[79] It is also apparent that the sobriquet 'Norman' or 'Frank' could have disappeared after the first generation of settlers, although it clearly retained a part in familial memories. In 1186 Altruda of Amalfi identified herself as being the 'daughter of William son of Osmund the Norman' as well as the widow of Landonari son of Manso.[80] And new immigrants may still have been arriving post-1130, since Robert son of Raynald, the castellan of Turris Maiore near Amalfi, identified his father as 'Angevina' in 1188.[81] Nevertheless, the personal name evidence for Norman settlement is extremely thin in the charters between 1050 and 1150: those two directly identified as Norman landowners were, we should note, confined to the border areas of their respective duchies, in Nocera and Traetto respectively.[82] By contrast, Guido *miles* son of Ursus the Amalfitan, is recorded at Isernia in 1123.[83] The admittedly sparse Neapolitan evidence provides few examples of Norman infiltration.[84] The highest-profile was the marriage of the count of Pozzuoli's daughter to Aymo de Argentia, lord of Cicala: note again the fact that the parties involved were not from the city of Naples itself.[85] It is probable, therefore, that all three cities and their heartlands successfully retained their existing landowning elites, and tracing some of the leading families in all three confirms this impression.[86] Significantly, all of the gifts made by Richard and Jordan of Gaetan lands to Montecassino consisted of just such border territories.[87] Even the ambiguous doc-

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[78] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.135–7 no. 258.

[79] Loud (1996), 329–32, Drell (1996a) and (1996b).

[80] *Codice Perris*, i.344–6 no. 178. Cf. Loud (2000a), 287–8, for a slightly different view.

[81] *Perg. di Amalfi*, i.99–100 no. 64.

[82] Women's personal names throughout the south were, if anything, even more resistant to change from outside, Skinner (1999).

[83] *Perg. di Amalfi*, ii.16 no. 30.

[84] Some encroachment is, however, visible, e.g. *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.119–20 no. 445 (1087), 378–9 no. 551 (1113), and *ibid.*, vi.41 no. 575 (1119).

[85] *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* vi.41–2 no. 573 (1118).

[86] Skinner (1995), 210–43.

[87] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.67–9 no. 226 (Fratte, 1065), 76–9 no. 231 (Torre ad Mare, 1066), 120–2 no. 251 (Suio, 1078), 132–4 no. 256 (Suessa, 1085) [= Loud, 'Calendar', nos. 6, 10, 21, 32].

ument of duke Marinus the *sebastos* in 1098 conferring the protection of all 'foreigners' in Ravello to the bishop of that see cannot be taken as evidence of a Norman presence.[88] Other inhabitants of the Amalfitan peninsula, even those from the neighbouring settlement of Atrani, might also be classed as 'foreigners'.

The local economy

In 1064, a record was made of the death of a certain John, the son of Peter de Benedict, who was a Gaetan in the city of Constantinople. Leo, the bishop of Gaeta, was asked to arrange that monies left to various churches in Gaeta by John should be collected by a man with a sealed letter.[89] Gaetans are sporadically documented as long-distance traders in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and whilst such references dry up in the twelfth century we should not interpret this as a decline.[90] Instead, Gaeta's trade focus appears to have shifted northwards, with links with Genoa and disagreements with other cities. The latter apparently included a war with Naples, if the ten-year peace concluded between the two cities in 1129 is indicative. In the same year a group of named Neapolitans acknowledged the return of a ship which had been stolen by men of Gaeta.[91] In (probably) 1137 the Pisans warned the Gaetans not to attack their ally Naples (presumably in the context of Neapolitan resistance to Norman overlordship), and in 1138 a group of Atranesi acknowledged the return of gold which had been 'lost' in Gaeta whilst they were on their way to ransom captives from the Pisans.[92] The Gaetans, it is clear, were not averse to a little piracy to supplement their commercial activities.[93] In addition, a Gaetan ship commuted between Spain and Egypt and was used by Jewish merchants in the 1130s.[94]

The coinage used for land transactions at Gaeta in the twelfth century was almost always silver Pavian *denarii*, reflecting the city's lively trade with more northern parts of the peninsula. The use of

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[88] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, ii.301 no. 593.
[89] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.51–2 no. 219.
[90] Skinner (1995a), 282–4.
[91] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.242–5 nos. 318–19.
[92] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.264–6 nos. 331–2.
[93] Skinner (1995b).
[94] Goitein (1971), 13.

Amalfitan gold *tari* in two documents may have been almost a status symbol, as one payment is incorporated within a dowry list.[95]

Amalfitan trade had been especially vigorous in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, but the Norman conquest may again have signalled a shift in focus rather than a decline. If anything, references to men 'not in this land' or 'abroad' increase in the Amalfitan documentation in the twelfth century. Whilst this is not definitive evidence that such men were away on trading expeditions, the routine nature of the transactions made on their behalf by their male and female relatives suggests regular trips away (trade) rather than one-off events (such as, for example, long-distance pilgrimage or warfare). The wealth of the Amalfitans was clearly worthy of remark: we have already seen that Amatus ascribed Salernitan military strength (or lack thereof) to access to Amalfitan money. He also dwells at some length on Gisulf's mistreatment of a wealthy merchant of Amalfi named Mauro, and various other ways in which the prince extorted money from his subjects and foreigners.[96] In a similar vein, Malaterra records that in the 1050s Count Roger, Robert Guiscard's younger brother, robbed some Amalfitan merchants to pay his soldiers.[97]

A document of 1105 shows an annual trade voyage from Amalfi to Sicily and Ravenna.[98] Much later documents of 1182 and 1187 reveal Genoese landowners in the city, which may conceal earlier commercial links, and a Maria Pisana is documented in the city by 1138.[99] That some kind of commercial activity was still thriving under Norman rule is suggested by the fact that the Pisans were worried enough to attack the area: a document of 1142 from Ravello refers to a charter lost when Ravello had been captured by the Pisans.[100]

The coinage (both in circulation and of account) of the city shows a much clearer shift into the Norman orbit, as Byzantine *solidi* were abandoned in favour of *regales* in penalty clauses after 1130 (the last reference to *solidi* being in 1139), and Amalfitan *tari* being joined by those of Sicily and used interchangeably from 1142 onwards.[101] Loud's

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[95] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.* ii.286–7, 297–8, nos. 346 and 352; Loud (1999b), 821. For an alternative view, Travaini (1995), 177.

[96] *Amatus*, VIII.3, pp. 341–6.

[97] *Malaterra*, I.26, pp. 20–1, cited in Loud (1999b), 827.

[98] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, ii.304 no. 586 = *Codice Perris*, i.161–2 no. 96.

[99] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi* i.398–400, 419–22, nos. 210 and 220. *Codice Perris*, i.227–9 no. 128, at p. 227.

[100] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi* i.252–4 no. 146.

[101] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.252–4 no. 146: *uncia una de tari sarracenesci de Sicilia moneta.* For such *tari* after 1140, Travaini (1995), 61–72.

overall opinion of the effect of the Normans on the use of coinage in Campania, however, is that little changed.[102] The internal economy of Amalfi and its district, too, seems to have gone from strength to strength. Shops are documented (some 'newly-built' in 1153) in Amalfi, Maiori and Ravello, and money-lending at interest was clearly going on in the area as well.[103]

In a fragmented document sample from Naples, there is little sign of trade apart from internal land transactions. This reflects the situation in the earlier, better-documented history of the city: the Neapolitans do not seem to have been traders on the same scale as their neighbours to the north and south. The city's coinage was Amalfitan throughout, until the end of the twelfth century. However, the Norman campaigns had clearly affected business confidence in the 1060s and 1070s, as rentals were documented in which the tenants promised to pay in Amalfitan currency 'as long as it comes to the city'.[104] We should not rule out a lively internal economy; the will of Maria daughter of Sergius (1076) consisted of 500 *solidi*, made up of debts owed to her, pieces of silk, worked gold and security deeds (*chartule cautionis*), which suggests that she was actively pursuing business opportunities within the city and, perhaps, outside.[105]

At a more local level, interchange between the three cities remained, despite their differing political circumstances. Neapolitans are documented owning and buying property in Amalfi in the late eleventh century.[106] Later, there seems to have been a Gaetan influx into the city, including possible descendants of the Gaetan ducal family,[107] and members of the Gattula clan, who had dominated the Gaetan consulate in the 1120s and 1130s, apparently being displaced from Gaeta possibly as early as 1126 but clustering at Amalfi in the 1170s and 1180s.[108] In Naples, the documenting of the name de Arcu may hint at members of the similarly named de Arciu clan of Gaeta moving there, although the toponymic nature of the surname means this

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[102] Loud (1999b), 831.

[103] Amalfi: *Codice Perris*, i.171–5 no. 101 (1112), 247–9 no. 137 (1153). Ravello: *Perg. di Amalfi*, ii.66 no. 73 (1170). Maiori: *Perg. di Amalfi*, i.80 no. 52 (1176). Money-lending: *Perg. di Amalfi*, ii.46 no. 58.

[104] *Monumenta*, ed. Capasso, 298, 307, nos. 493 and 512.

[105] *Ibid.*, 314–17 no. 523.

[106] *Codice Perris*, i.114–16 no. 78 (1079), 142–4 no. 88 (1094).

[107] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi* i.213–15, 309–11, nos. 126, 170.

[108] *Codice Perris*, i.200, 325, nos. 115 and 169. *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.336–8 no. 182 (1172), 352–4 no. 189 (1175), 408–11 no. 215 (1184), 416–18 no. 219 (1186).

is by no means certain.[109] Similarly difficult to establish is whether
mention of the Pappadiu family in Naples refers to the Pappadeum
clan of Ravello.[110] More securely documented are marital links with
Amalfitans, as Anna Millusi is recorded as the widow of Leo the
Amalfitan in 1085.[111] Later on, Guisa daughter of Antimi the Amalfitan
is recorded at Naples in 1154, John the Amalfitan was a tenant of
the convent of St. Gregory Armeno in 1161, and the securely Amal-
fitan Comitemaurone family are documented in the same period.[112]
Whilst the three cities experienced different political developments,
therefore, travel between them seems to have been relatively easy,
and this can only have facilitated their economic exchanges and their
sense of a shared culture in the face of a Norman influx.

Bonds of dependence: the language of fidelity

Perhaps the thorniest issue to address in this period is the effect the
Norman takeover had on land and military organisation in the region.
I have discussed this issue in detail elsewhere, but some comments
on the language of fidelity in the local charters may serve to indi-
cate the difficulties and ambiguities surrounding the problem of 'feu-
dalisation' in its specific sense of personal ties of dependence.[113]

The word *fidelis* or 'faithful man/woman' is not uncommon in the
charters of Amalfi, for example, but its use in different documents
clearly conveys different meanings. For instance, in 1104, duke Roger
gave to Sergius the judge, his *fidelis*, some empty (i.e. uncultivated
or undeveloped) land in the *plano* of Amalfi near the seashore and
city wall in return for his service.[114] This was a significant gift, and
came with a documented obligation of service, but was Sergius's
function as a judge implied or did he owe other services relating to
the land? The document does not say.

Still less informative are documents where non-ducal relationships
are recorded. For example, in 1126 Peter the priest left landed prop-

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[109] Napoli, Archivio di Stato, *Monasteri Soppressi*, documents 138, 319, 549, and
552.
[110] Napoli, Archivio di Stato, *Monasteri Soppressi*, document 52 (1194).
[111] *Monumenta*, ed. Capasso, 324–5 no. 537.
[112] Napoli, Archivio di Stato, *Monasteri Soppressi*, documents 26, 422 and 320
respectively.
[113] Cf. Skinner (2000b) for further discussion.
[114] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, ii.303 no. 595.

erty to his *fidelis* Theodonanda; while in 1127 a certain Marinus is recorded as the *fidelis* of Marinus son of Manso de Marini, and received three *solidi* from the latter's estate. The next year, John son of Mastalus bequeathed ten *solidi* to his *fidelis*, Lupinus.[115] In none of these cases was the beneficiary apparently obliged to provide any service for the land or money received, and it is more than likely that they were all servants of the testators who were now being rewarded at the end of the relationship.

A document of 1131, however, is more explicit, when Blactu, daughter of Constantine Mancuso, gave to her *fidelis*, Leo son of Sergius, an entire inherited property *pro amore et dilectatione quod in te habui*. Her love for him notwithstanding, his service is also required with a lifetime obligation to provide her with olives, grapes and wine from the land.[116]

The phrase 'for love and good service' recurs in a further document from Amalfi of 1139 and two charters from Ravello, dated 1148 and 1151, in which land is transferred, but in none of these cases does the recipient appear to pay or undertake any duties, nor are any of them called *fidelis*.[117] This is an important point, for in 1126, Drosu daughter of Constantine gave her sister a piece of land with the identical phrase *pro amore et dilectationem quod in vos habuimus et pro vonum at maiorem vestrum servitium*.[118]

The clear inference here is that words denoting fidelity and service in the Amalfitan charters did not always imply an unequal relationship, a key plank of any personal relationship deemed 'feudal'. If duke Roger thought that *fidelis* meant one thing, his Amalfitan subjects, or more accurately, their scribes, were clearly often working with a different meaning in mind. The most obvious manifestation of this is a case of 1133, in which the nun Blactagratia executed the will of her *fidelis* Boccia, seemingly implying a more equal relationship. Boccia's daughter, however, is documented as the *famula* of Blactagratia, showing that some obligation must have underlain the two older women's relationship.[119] Strikingly, such language in fact seems to disappear from the Amalfitan charters after 1152, perhaps *because* it was so ambiguous.

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[115] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.213–15 no. 126, *Codice Perris*, i.207–11 nos. 118–19.
[116] *Codice Perris*, i.217–18 no. 123.
[117] *Cod. Dipl. Amalfi*, i.246 no. 143, *Perg. di Amalfi*, ii.29, 31, nos. 44 and 46.
[118] *Perg. di Amalfi*, i.46 no. 33.
[119] *Perg. di Amalfi*, i.56 no. 38.

In Naples, the situation appears slightly different again. In the late eleventh century there is clear evidence in the charters of tied men and women known as *defisi*, often, but not always, attached in a semi-servile relationship to an ecclesiastical house or lay person.[120] Thereafter, the limited Neapolitan evidence suggests that some form of tied labour existed in the duchy in the latter half of the twelfth century, but the situation in the first half is unclear.[121] Even Falco of Benevento's report of king Roger's gift of *villani* to his men after the capture of Naples in 1137 is not conclusive evidence of whole-sale military 'feudalism' existing at that date.[122]

At Gaeta the term *fidelis* appears in the documents before the Norman arrival, and again has ambiguous meanings. The Norman dukes cited the intervention of their faithful men when they granted the fortified centres of Fratte and Suio, and land at Torre ad Mare, to the abbey of Montecassino between 1065 and 1078. The *fideles* in these cases, however, have Lombard names, reinforcing the idea that it was not the élites of the urban centres who were entering into such relationships with the new rulers.[123] Perhaps Norman pressure in the region forced the counts of Traetto similarly to hand over their county to Montecassino in 1058/9.[124] The gifts of Suio and Traetto gave rise to two documents of abbot Desiderius of Montecassino, which have been variously interpreted, promising the men affected in the two settlements that he would not impose any additional services beyond those which they had been used to giving to the counts. The difference between the two documents is that whilst that to Traetto in 1061 is addressed to all the men of the settlement, that for Suio in 1079 privileges six named men over the

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[120] *Monumenta*, ed. Capasso, 303–4 no. 506, 305–6 no. 509, 310–12 nos. 516–17, 328 no. 543, 331–3 no. 552, 336–8 no. 555. In contrast to the *fidelis* Boccia, mentioned earlier, it is apparent from a courtcase of 1073 (*Monumenta*, ed. Capasso, 310–11, no. 516) that *defisi* were not considered able to make a will.

[121] Napoli, Archivio di Stato, *Monasteri Soppressi*, document 175 (1151: tied men); *ASNap* viii (1883), 780 no. 32 (1176: a *vassallo*); Napoli, Archivio di Stato, *Monasteri Soppressi*, document 554 (1186: annual labour service demanded).

[122] *Falco*, 234–6.

[123] In all three documents Pandulf son of Guala is the intercessor, alongside Landulf son of Auloaldus in one, and Cedrus the *viceprinceps* in another, *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.*, ii, 67–9, 76–9, 120–22, nos. 226, 231 and 251 [Loud, 'Calendar', nos. 6, 10, 21]. For discussion of these men, Loud (2000a), 281–2.

[124] The transaction is repeated twice, with slightly varying witnesses, *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.*, ii.17–20, 29–33, nos. 204, 209–10.

other inhabitants.[125] Might these, yet again, have represented a nascent form of internal government in the latter centre?

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the socio-economic impact of the Norman arrival and early rule from several angles. The overwhelming conclusion to be drawn from the charter evidence is that there was a high degree of continuity in social and economic life within the three duchies, regardless of their relationship with the Normans. It has also been suggested that the Normans were in this early period confined to peripheral areas of the duchies, rather than taking over the central places.[126]

One phenomenon which has emerged from a comparison of all three cities is the fact that all, to a greater or lesser extent, witnessed the development of non-ducal forms of administration based around groups of men variously identified either as a named group apart from their colleagues, or with vague titles such as *boni homines*, consuls or simply 'the people'. How far were these developments, which are poorly-documented and chronologically disparate, related to the arrival of the Normans? It is difficult to come to a definitive conclusion: Traetto had already begun to drift out of Gaeta's control when its *boni homines* are documented, and Suio was not slow to follow. But Gaeta's internal developments may well have had much to do with the political instability of the late eleventh century, as the Capuan Normans sought to take control. Ravello may have drifted from Amalfitan control precisely when there was a struggle for power at the centre between dukes Roger and Marinus. Here, ducal government persisted, as it did in unconquered Naples. Naples too, however, experienced a brief period when its aristocratic elite took control in place of the dukes in some land transactions. At best, therefore,

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[125] *Cod. Dipl. Caiet.*, ii.37–9 no. 213, 124–6 no. 253 [also edited Fabiani (1968), i.421–4 nos. 1–2].

[126] Dione Clementi expresses this as a dichotomy between 'strongpoints, where the lord was dominant . . . for instance Nocera . . . and towns such as Salerno and Bari, where the nucleus of fighting men were citizens, and they directed the immediate business of their cities'. She picks this up, however, in Alexander of Telese; the evidence suggests that the dichotomy originated earlier, in the period of conquest, *Al. Tel.*, 205.

we can argue that the Normans, simply by their presence and the disruption they undoubtedly caused, may have contributed to a feeling that ducal power was no longer the only form of government open to the aristocrats of these cities, and encouraged them to challenge it or to occupy gaps in the administration. The acknowledgement of the power of the Gaetan people by duchess Maria is just one manifestation of how the dukes were, in some cases, forced to accept their diminishing role, although in her case the dynamics of gender might well have accelerated the process. Women rulers found it difficult to hold on to power in times of military uncertainty (unless, like Sichelgaita of Salerno, they ended up married to the victor).

Norman chroniclers may make much of their heroes' exploits and achievements, therefore, but the picture on the ground, via the charter evidence, suggests that their images and accounts must be read cautiously. Even more so than the Lombard parts of Campania, the Tyrrhenian cities clung fiercely to their histories and heritage, and their aristocracies maintained their positions of wealth and power until at least the recognition of the Norman kingdom. Even then, they were only displaced as a ruling elite: they remained the major property-owners in the .area and seem to have succeeded in preventing the Normans from securely establishing themselves as rulers in the centres of the three duchies in any more but name.

THE ARISTOCRATIC FAMILY

Joanna Drell

Perhaps no family played a more important role in the dramatic story of the 'Normans in the South' than the descendants of Tancred of Hauteville. Tancred's sons and grandsons conquered and consolidated the disparate territories of the south Italian mainland and Sicily to create the *regno*.[1]

It is ironic, perhaps, that a family of modest means introduces this discussion of the aristocratic family in Norman southern Italy. Moreover, the study of the evolution and administration of Norman power in the south usually concentrates on individuals. A notable example is Tancred's seventh son, Robert Guiscard, whose celebrated career and outsized personality receive so much attention in contemporary sources. Nonetheless, the circumstances that brought Guiscard and some of his eleven brothers to southern Italy in the mid-eleventh century are instructive here. It is important to note that Tancred possessed a modest estate, insufficient to support twelve sons. As a result, concerns over the future dispersal and management of the family patrimony lay at the heart of the decision of several of Tancred's sons to leave Normandy and head south:

> They saw that their own neighbourhood would not be big enough for them, and that when their patrimony was divided not only would their heirs argue among themselves about the share-out, but the individual shares would simply not be big enough. So, to prevent the same thing happening in future as had happened to them, they discussed the matter among themselves. They decided that, since the elders were at that time stronger than those younger to them, they should be the first to leave their homeland and go to other places seeking their fortune through arms.[2]

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[1] The author gratefully acknowledges the support of the American Academy in Rome and the National Endowment for the Humanities in the preparation of this essay. My thanks are also due to Emily O'Brien, David W. Routt and Graham Loud for their generous assistance.

[2] *Malaterra*, I.5, p. 9, translated in Loud (2000a), 2.

The English chronicler, William of Malmesbury, also remarked upon the 'straightened circumstances' that incited Guiscard and his brothers to travel south.[3] Ultimately, through conquest and/or intermarriage, at least five sons of Tancred (not all of them the youngest), Robert, Drogo, Geoffrey, William, Roger, and possibly Humphrey, can be traced to the vast kinship network which dominated the politics and property management of Norman southern Italy. Their actions illustrate two crucial elements to understanding aristocratic families during this period (c. 1000–1200): strategies of inheritance and kinship networks.

This chapter surveys the various structures and practices associated with aristocratic families at this time. The relationship between family and power is one that has only been examined in recent years for the medieval Mezzogiorno.[4] By comparison, in other parts of medieval Europe—France in particular—interest in family history has received much scholarly attention.[5] Scholars have increasingly demonstrated that the study of family organisation provides a unique perspective on the society in which it operated. Traditional stages of family life—marriage, birth, and death—reveal both the personal and strategic dimensions of kinship. The fundamental relationships between parents, children, husbands, wives, siblings, and extended kin offer glimpses of relations between generations and between genders, in both their public and private contexts. Marital alliances, inheritance, and succession all shaped or were shaped by politics and property. The pages that follow will suggest that such an approach is valuable to understanding aspects not only of Mezzogiorno families, but more generally of medieval Mezzogiorno history.

Before we proceed any further, the terms 'family' and 'aristocratic' merit some attention. During the Middle Ages, there was no word in medieval Latin for 'family' that corresponds to the modern sense of the term. I adopt the succinct definition offered by Constance Bouchard, namely 'a group of blood relatives conscious of their close

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[3] Loud (2000a), 2, quoting William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. R.A.B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom (Oxford 1998), 482–3.

[4] Drell (2002), Drell (1999), Loud (1996), Skinner (1995a), Martin (1993), Marongiu (1976). Other genealogically-orientated studies on specific southern Italian families include G. Guerrieri (1900), Ebner (1973), Portanova (1976a and b), Del Treppo (1977), and Cuozzo (1980).

[5] The literature on the study of noble families is vast. See especially Duby (1977), Martindale (1977), Goody (1983), Herlihy (1985), White (1988), and Bouchard (1981, 1986, 1987 and 1998).

ties with each other and their ancestors'.[6] Determining social status
is more complicated. There is no convenient list that tells us who
was or was not considered 'aristocratic' in Norman southern Italy.
We can, however, identify families who had obvious political power,
large entourages of dependants and household servants, clearly-defined
titles that indicate noble status, and extensive patrimonial holdings.

There is much that we might like to know about family organi-
sation and practice, but it is the sources that determine what we can
responsibly deduce. Despite the paucity of scholarship on the topic
of medieval southern Italian family organisation, there is actually no
lack of sources with which to pursue such study. Familiar Mezzogiorno
sources, such as the chronicles, law codes, and the *Catalogus Baronum*
contain evidence of family practices and relationships. The observa-
tions of the chroniclers illuminate contemporary attitudes towards
notions of family.[7] They also describe the various political marriages
contracted between illustrious families. When using these narrative
sources, we must always be wary of the chroniclers' biases in favour
of, or against, various families, since exaggeration for dramatic effect
is not uncommon.[8] Similarly, the interpretation of family themes
based on legal sources requires caution. The Roman and Lombard
law codes, regional customary tracts, and the laws that Roger II pro-
mulgated during his reign largely reflect an idealised picture of how
dowries, marriages, inheritance, and general rights to property should
function.[9] In spite of certain limitations, these sources offer vital detail
about family practices during this period.

The information in chronicles and law codes can often span lengthy
stretches of time. In contrast, the *Catalogus Baronum* provides a snapshot
for two specific time periods of the people who provided military

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[6] Bouchard (1981), 502; cf. Herlihy (1985), 2–4.

[7] There is a published English translation only of 'Hugo Falcandus' and of a
small section of the chronicle attributed to Romuald of Salerno. Translations pro-
vided here have either been done by the author, or are based on unpublished trans-
lations by G.A. Loud. I continue to be grateful to Dr. Loud for his generosity.

[8] For discussions of the various perspectives of the chronicle authors, see Capitani
(1977), Wolf (1995), and Loud (2000a), especially 3–6.

[9] Skinner (2001), 35. For the Lombard Laws see Drew (1973). Roger most likely
did not create one single law code called the 'Assises of Ariano', but issued a num-
ber of edicts during his reign. For a discussion of how scholars have interpreted
them over the years see Ménager (1969), Matthew (1992), 184–188. For the texts,
see Brandileone (1884), Monti (1945), or Zecchino (1984). What we know of the
laws stems, in part, from the thirteenth-century *Liber Augustalis*, the laws of Frederick
II, translated into English by Powell (1971).

service to the king c. 1150 and in 1167/8.[10] It is a valuable genealogical resource when combined with the thousands of charters contained in archives scattered around southern Italy. The charters make it possible to reconstruct family genealogies and lifecycles. The extant charters for southern Italy record property alienations through exchange, donation, and bequest. These transactions took place within families, between families, and between families and religious institutions. Wills, marriage contracts, and legal challenges not only provide a record of the primary transaction, but they also include thousands of names, family relationships, and anecdotal details that illuminate the private side of kinship interaction. Overall, the unpublished and published charter collections, together with the chronicles, law codes, and the *Catalogus Baronum*, provide ample documentation with which to examine patterns of kin organisation and patrimonial practice.

Land charters form the central source base in this study—many of them from the Abbey of Holy Trinity at Cava dei Tirreni, outside Salerno. They yield remarkable detail for the study of family history. A typical charter mentions blood relationships, and in so doing, suggests a consciousness of family ties. More specifically, a charter might reveal who was considered a part of the family involved in the transaction, how people remembered their ancestors, and how family members assisted one another in everyday transactions. As an illustration, what follows is an excerpt from a charter of donation from January 1139, made by two brothers to the Abbey of Cava:

> Guido and William, brothers and sons of Alfanus the son of count Ademarius (called 'Russus') appear before *dominus* Sim(e)on, venerable abbot of the monastery of Holy Trinity (built outside this city of Salerno in the place called Metiliano), judge Alfanus and many other men. The two brothers declare that they possess one twelfth of the whole church of the Virgin Mary, located near the sea, in Salerno. They also hold one twelfth of all the *stabiles* and *mobiles* owned by the church. For love of the church and for the souls of their parents and themselves, the two brothers donate their one-twelfth holding in this church to the monastery at Cava dei Tirreni [. . .] so that this gift may always be in the legal possession of the monastery to do with as it chooses. [. . .] The two brothers, together with Rao Miskinus son of count Alfanus [*probably no relation to any other Alfanus mentioned*] and Robert Mustazza, the son of William the Norman, and the father-in-law of the aforementioned William, swear to guarantee the terms of this agree-

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[10] See especially Jamison (1971), for discussion.

ment [. . .] In addition, Truda the wife of Guido and Sichelgaita the wife of William consent to the above terms. They give their consent with the permissions of their husbands and guardians.[11]

Count Ademarius (Russus)   William the Norman

    Alfanus   Robert Mustazza

Truda = Guido   William = Sichelgaita

This charter describes the donation by two brothers, Guido and William, of their one-twelfth interest in a local Salernitan church to the monastery at Cava. This, in itself, is neither extraordinary nor particularly informative. Furthermore, we do not know how the brothers came to possess this one-twelfth interest in the church at Salerno, whether, for example, they inherited it or purchased it, nor do we know how much of the this church the monastery already possessed.

This charter does, however, include two standard features found in most charters that help us understand the structure of the family. First, the principals involved in a transaction (the buyer, seller, donor and their family members) are identified by name—a name that often indicates parentage. Secondly, family relationships among the various participants to the transaction are noted. Guido and William are identified in terms of their paternal ancestry—namely, their father Alfanus. Furthermore, they note that their father was himself the son of Ademarius who was a 'count'. Other central figures in the charter, including Robert Mustazza the son of William the Norman, and Rao Miskinus the son of count Alfanus, are similarly described in terms of their paternal ancestors. Overwhelmingly people are identified in the sources by their paternal ancestry or agnatic descent. Only rarely did people, male or female, invoke a female ancestor and then, usually when she was a person of great importance.[12]

The charter of Guido and William indicates how the articulation of lineage could be a very valuable tool for different social groups to justify or emphasise their links to power. The two brothers traced their ancestry back two generations to their grandfather, Ademarius

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[11] Cava, *Arca* xxiv.75.
[12] Skinner (1995a), 139–45, Skinner (1999), 29–36.

the count. By comparison, Robert Mustazza only traced his ances-
try back one generation to his father, William the Norman. At least
in the Principality of Salerno, it was rare for people to trace their
genealogy back farther than one generation. A notable exception was
the family of the Lombard Princes of Salerno. They almost always
listed several generations of their family genealogy, tracing the fam-
ily back to Prince Guaimar III (d. 1027), and sometimes even to
Prince Guaimar's father, Prince John (d. 999). For example, a char-
ter from 1098, refers to 'Guaimar son of Pandulf son of *dominus*
prince Guaimar son of *dominus* prince John'.[13] I have argued previ-
ously that exceptions to the simple one-generation naming pattern
('x' son of 'y') underscore the differences between Lombard and
Norman customs, at least in the Principality of Salerno.[14] The extent
of ancestral memory through naming patterns is inconsistent in
medieval southern Italy. By comparison with Salerno, the partici-
pants in Amalfitan charter transactions regularly traced their ances-
try back about four, sometimes as many as seven or eight generations,
for example (in 1139): 'Pantaleone son of Sergius son of Maurus son
of Count Maurus'.[15] In the Duchy of Gaeta and Naples, Patricia
Skinner has argued that the manipulation of ancestral memory
occurred in the patterns of lead-names and titles.[16] The repetition
of certain family names also offers clues to the ethnic background
and ancestral memories the participants wished to evoke.[17]

   While ancestral memory varied regionally for cultural and prob-
ably strategic reasons, the preference accorded agnatic lineage was
consistent in the medieval south. As in other parts of the medieval
world, many southern Italian charters employed very specific lan-
guage to distinguish kin relationships, and to identify ancestry and
parentage precisely.[18] Distinctions are made between 'maternal' and
'paternal' cousins (even distinguishing between cousins through a
mother's sister, as opposed to a mother's brother); regular and 'uterine'
siblings (half-siblings who shared the same mother); legitimate and

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[13] Cava, *Arca*, xvi.86 (1098). Charters up to at least 1137 mention men proba-
bly linked to the princely family with similarly lengthy name-chains of descent.
[14] Drell (1999).
[15] Del Treppo (1977), 111, 118. See Herlihy (1985), 46–7, Skinner (1995a), 127,
Skinner (1999), 28.
[16] Skinner (1995a), 126–39.
[17] Martin (1996), 39.
[18] For a helpful discussion of kinship terminology, Le Jan (1995), 168–77.

'bastard' sons. To offer just one example from the Principality of Salerno, in his will from 1109 in Nocera, Peter the priest, son of Doferius, bequeathed all his things to his heir, Romoaldus. Romoaldus was also Peter's cousin or consobrinus frater ['descended from father's brother'].[19] We find other matrilateral- and patrilateral-specific terms used, for example *patruelis frater*, *patruus*, *amita*, and *consobrina soror*. The precise identification of family relationships in such situations was undoubtedly an effort to clarify the agnatic claims in property transactions. It might be argued that the explicit identification of someone as being a 'uterine' sibling of someone else suggests at least the recognition of matrilineal ties. However, it also seems a way to ensure that a paternal inheritance did not fall in the wrong hands, thereby underscoring the paternal relationship.[20] The significance of the blood claim to the father's ancestry is further reflected in the distinction between 'natural' (i.e. illegitimate) and legitimate children. 'Natural' children were entitled to a part of legacies under some circumstances, but they did not necessarily receive the same portions as their half-siblings.[21]

Returning to the 1139 charter of William and Guido, we find that in addition to naming patterns and terminology, the charter is also instructive about family practices and interactions. According to the charter, the two brothers, together with Robert the Norman, William's father-in-law, and someone named Rao, promise to guarantee the terms of the agreement—that is, to make sure that the terms of the charter are not violated. This charter presents just one of many examples of a member of the extended, affinal (or in-laws) kin group participating in a family transaction. In fact, a year later, William gave the important position of adjudicating his will to his father-in-law, Robert the Norman.[22]

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[19] Cava, *Arca*, xviii.97 (1109).

[20] Selected examples from the Cava documents include *Arca*, xxi.50 (1121), *Arca*, xxii.107 (1130), *Arca*, xxv.7 (1141).

[21] The Lombard edicts of Rothari clearly allowed for natural children to inherit. Moreover, the Lombard laws distinguished between 'natural' and illegitimate children. Children born outside of legal marriage but who could make a claim to their father's inheritance were designated 'natural' children; 'illegitimate' children were those born outside of marriage but who were not recognised as heirs. In theory, 'natural' children (and 'illegitimate' children as well) were inferior to the children of legal unions and did not share equally in the inheritance along with their half-siblings. They were entitled to some fraction of the inheritance. Drew (1973), 33, *Rothari's Edict* c. 153–162.

[22] Cava, *Arca*, xxiv.116 (1140).

The analysis of relationships between buyers, sellers, donors, bene-
ficiaries, witnesses, guarantors, executors, and guardians designated
as kin in the charters reveals different patterns of family composi-
tion; that is to say, whether families were large or small, and included
extended family relations or not. At least in the Principality of Salerno,
there is strong evidence to suggest that family composition was quite
flexible. Assorted kin performed a variety of roles for one another
in this period. Siblings and cousins witnessed and guaranteed one
another's transactions; they served as executors to wills, and as
guardians to widowed mothers and unmarried sisters. One brother
might act on behalf of other brothers when the alienation of fam-
ily property was involved. Uncles cared for orphaned nephews and
nieces, and fathers and mothers maintained an active presence in
their married children's lives; daughters might even return to their
paternal home following the death of a husband. We might recall
that in the charter of William and Guido, Robert the Norman
(William's father-in-law), stayed involved in his daughter Sichelgaita's
life by virtue of his association with William. It seems clear that in
this family—and many others as well—the wife continued to be a
part of her natal family, even after marriage, and that the extended
kin group played a significant role overall.[23]

Recalling Bouchard's definition of 'family' in which blood rela-
tives were conscious of their kinship ties, it can certainly be said that
the blood relatives in the Principality included an ever-changing cir-
cle of close and more distant kin—depending on the situation. An
example from the second and third decades of the twelfth century
reveals that several leading Salernitan magnates pledged to protect,
defend, and specifically not harm the Abbey at Cava dei Tirreni.
The witnesses or guarantors to the oaths of Jordan of Nocera (Sep-
tember 1111), Roger of San Severino (March 1114), Count William
II of the Principate (April 1116), and Henry of San Severino (March
1125) included numerous kin, from brothers to distant cousins.[24] Yet
on other, more private occasions involving the family patrimony, it
is not uncommon to find the same lords performing transactions wit-

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[23] For a detailed examination of family organisation in the Principality of Salerno,
see Drell (2002), especially chapters 3 and 5.
[24] About the oaths, see Drell (2002), chapters 1 and 5. Cava, *Arm. Mag.* E.20
(1111), E.21 (1111), E.34 (1114), E.47 (1116), ed. Loud (1987), 176–7, F.36 (1125).
Cf. Loud (1981), 114, 138 no. 118.

nessed only by a wife or son.[25] At all levels of land-owning society, we find a similar variance in who might be considered 'family' at a given moment and for a given situation. Bouchard once suggested that kinship was defined 'operationally' during the Middle Ages. In other words, a family might be considered large or small depending on the circumstances.[26] In the language of anthropologists and family historians, the family in medieval southern Italy was both 'extended' and 'nuclear'—it was not static.[27]

The claim to inheritance was one of the most significant issues that might determine the boundaries of family participation. It is here that we find the greatest flexibility in families. Southern Italian legal traditions, both Roman and Lombard law, advocated the partitioning of goods among siblings, with women eligible to receive inheritances, even property. If there were no direct heirs, then collateral heirs inherited.[28] The influence of Norman inheritance-norms is difficult to trace for southern Italy, although occasional references to 'Norman Law' and 'Norman Custom' exist.[29] Eleventh-century sources from Normandy suggest that partible inheritance among male heirs was the norm. However, a 'variety of family situations' were reflected in Norman inheritance practices.[30] It is likely that by the twelfth century, changes in patterns of succession occurred, with more lineal forms of descent, including primogeniture and *parage*, gaining popularity over extensive divisions of family patrimony among more distant relations.[31]

Among aristocratic families in the Principality of Salerno, two succession strategies predominated for managing property within families: single heir and partible inheritance. For example, in cases where

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[25] For example, see the Capaccio family in Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.24 (1137), and *Arca*, xxiv.41 (1138).

[26] Bouchard (1986), 641.

[27] There are interesting similarities between the behaviour of the Normans in southern Italy and the Normans in pre-1066 Normandy with regard to family strategies. In both regions, families manipulated kinship and varied in composition depending on the situation, Searle (1988), 159–70.

[28] In contrast with Roman law, women under Lombard Law were not considered legally competent. Therefore, in theory, if not always in actual practice, their property was administered by whoever held their *mundium* or guardianship, Drew, (1973), 31–38 Marongiu (1944), 116, 117. Saller (1991), 343.

[29] Cava, *Arca*, xl.51 and 53 (both 1185).

[30] Holt (1983), 211–12, Searle (1988), 174, Tabateau (1988), 98–102, 226.

[31] Bloch (1961), 199–208, Goody (1983), 118–23, Holt (1983), 193–220, Searle (1988), 173–5.

there were multiple potential heirs, the lords of Eboli, Gesualdo, and
Sarno all named only one heir as successor to the lordship, and only
one heir appeared in a prominent position in documents.[32] It should
be noted that the appearance of unigeniture in the case of some
of these families, for example the lords of Eboli and Gesualdo, may
be the result of a lack of evidence concerning other male children.
Perhaps these lords had no other sons, or, perhaps, no records sur-
vive for them. This dearth of evidence may also result from a gap
in the sources or be an indication of the normal attrition of the pop-
ulation.[33] In contrast, other noble families, including the lords of San
Severinio and Capaccio, suggest the clear division of the central fam-
ily patrimony between brothers, but with specified brothers arguably
in more prominent positions over other brothers—reminiscent of
Norman *parage* tenure.[34]

Thus far we have focused on such practical issues as marriage
and inheritance. However, kinship in the medieval Mezzogiorno
appears in many guises. The personal side of family interaction, or
'affective kinship' can also be teased out of the texts. For example,

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[32] Emma of Eboli, daughter of Geoffrey 'the Norman', bequeathed the county
of Eboli to her one surviving son William 'the Norman', who in turn left the county
to only one of his three sons, Robert. See Cava, *Arm Mag.* B.21 (1082), B.22 (1082),
B.30 (1083), B.31 (1083), C.20 (1089), C.23 (1090), C.24 (1090), E.30 (1114), E.35
(1114), E.50 (1116), F.2 (1117), G.26 (1137), although the authenticity of some of
these documents is suspect. Only one son of William, *dominus* of Gesualdo appeared
as his successor (Elias), Cava, *Arm. Mag.* G.35 (1141) and G.46 (1144). Elias, in turn,
had many children, but only one was the *senior* of Gesualdo. Also *Cat. Bar. Commentary*,
art. 707, on 'Helyas de Gisualdo', and Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 276, f.15–f.17.
In 1175 Roger, son of Elias, was the only family member who signed a charter by
Elias, and in 1187 Roger was the *senior* of Gesualdo. Richard, Count of Sarno also
favoured one heir over another. Though he had two known sons, Henry and
Henfridus, Richard designated only Henry as his heir in his will of 1125. For Count
Henry of Sarno, see Cava, *Arm. Mag.* F.37 (1125), and Scandone, (1948) ii.113,
120, also Chalandon (1907), ii.36, and the genealogical chart in Loud (1996), 327.

[33] For a brief discussion of biological attrition, see Loud (1996), 342.

[34] The San Severino *paterfamilias*, Turgisius the Norman, had at least four sons
and a daughter. And under two of the sons, Roger I and Turgisius of Monte Mileto,
the family split into two branches. Although Roger and Turgisius each possessed
their own lands, it seems that Turgisius required his brother's consent for certain
transactions, possibly involving patrimonial lands, as early as 1081 and again in
1097. See Cava, *Arm. Mag.* B.19 (1081) and D.12 (1097). Capaccio: Of Pandulfus'
many children, his sons Gregory of Capaccio, John of Capaccio and Guaimar of
Capaccio were property holders who appeared in multiple charters from 1092–1137.
Cava charters for the Capaccio brothers include: *Arm. Mag.* C.33 (1092), *Arca*, xvii.89
(1103), xx.116 (1118)—for Gregory; *Arm. Mag.* D.28 (1100) for John; *Arca*, xix.17
(1111) and *Arm. Mag.* G.29 (1137 his will) for Guaimar. About two other brothers,
Gisulf and Guido, little is known. For discussion, Loud (1987), 174–5.

the juridical language of the charters occasionally mentions personal relationships. It was a common practice for donors to offer prayers for the souls of living and dead relatives in their transactions. Looking again at Guido and William, we see that they did this in their charter of donation to the Cava monastery when they offered prayers for the souls of their (presumably dead) parents. Infrequent modifications to the formula are more expressive, such as references to a 'very dear wife' or 'beloved child'.[35] In 1105, Roger, lord of Eboli offered prayers for the well-being of his 'highly-esteemed wife' (Mabel) and their 'very dear son Guaimar' when he made a donation to the Cava monastery.[36] The personal side of family relations is further evidenced in a unique example from 1155 in which Ursus, son of Binetus *Neapolitanus*, swore an oath to provide for the needs of his widowed mother, Trocta. Ursus promised that he and his heirs would care for Trocta during her lifetime, providing clothing, food, and shoes. The charter does not conform to any standard Cava notarial formula and it appears that Ursus was determined to fulfil his filial duty or at least the scribe felt that Ursus should do so.[37]

The narratives offer some of the liveliest depictions of the family as a source of moral support, affection, and strength. According to the chroniclers, brothers and sisters, parents and children, all found solidarity and solace through their kinship. The relationship between King Roger II, his sister Matilda, and her husband Count Rainulf presents a memorable episode of affective ties. Count Rainulf of Caiazzo was a nobleman who spent much of his career in league with Prince Robert of Capua against the king. Alexander of Telese (who was in fact, commissioned to write his History by Matilda) and Falco of Benevento described not only the political tensions between Roger and Rainulf, but also Roger's efforts to protect his sister. Both chroniclers noted the affection between the two siblings: Roger 'loved [Matilda] more than one would think possible', and he tried to 'console her with kind words', after an incident with her husband. Moreover, King Roger was deeply concerned about Rainulf's mistreatment of Matilda, upon whom Rainulf 'had inflicted many insults

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[35] It was customary, for example, to offer prayers for the souls of living and dead relatives when making a donation to a religious house, Bouchard (1987), 241–3, White (1988), 2–9.

[36] Cava, *Arm. Mag.* D.51.

[37] Cava, *Arca*, xxvii.87 (1150).

and injuries'.[38] Nevertheless, Roger tolerated the ambitions and behaviour of his brother-in-law out of 'fondness' for his sister.[39] The matter was further complicated by the fact that Rainulf was also a vassal of the king. The loyalty to the kinship that bound him to Rainulf did not last long, however, and Roger broke with his brother-in-law irreconcilably, stating,

> How can Count Rainulf in the future be received or believed by me, for he has always done me harm, and neither blood relationship nor, after I received his homage, the oath of fealty has restrained him? How can his good faith be trusted any more after he has violated his oath? That love by which I was united and bound to him as a relation, because of his marriage to my sister, shall be wholly sundered.[40]

The passage reveals the potential conflicts that could arise between blood kinship, affinal kinship, and the politics of fealty.

The chronicles also describe the public lamentations of important figures upon the death of a spouse or child. Roger II mourned the deaths of two wives and an eldest son.[41] A century earlier Count Rainulf of Aversa was inconsolable over the death of his wife;[42] while in 1127 Duke William's wife threw herself on her dead husband's grave.[43] Viewed from a cynical perspective, such melodramatic moments may have been included to promote the images of King Roger, Duke William, and Count Rainulf as benevolent and beloved leaders—a sharp contrast with the lengthy descriptions of their martial exploits that otherwise fill the chronicles. Yet other examples of the parent-child relationship do not necessarily invite such a cynical reading. In describing the family of Tancred of Hauteville, Malaterra described the tender relationship between Tancred's children from his first previous marriage and their new stepmother, Fresenda. Malaterra went on to suggest that Tancred loved his new wife and appreciated her all the more for her kind treatment of his children.[44]

Since charters were public records of family business, and chronicles contained elements of propaganda, it is unsurprising to discover

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[38] *Falco*, 121.
[39] *Al. Tel.* I.7, p. 10, translation by G.A. Loud.
[40] *Al. Tel.* III.10, translation by G.A. Loud.
[41] *Falcandus*, 6 [*Tyrants*, 59]; Alexander of Telese described Roger II as 'much afflicted with grief' upon the death of his wife, Queen Alberada, *Al. Tel.* III.1, p. 59.
[42] *Amatus*, I.43, p. 55.
[43] *Falco*, 85.
[44] *Malaterra*, I.4, p. 9.

that information about family relationships often appears in the con-
text of patrimonial or political concerns. This might explain why the
texts employ language and terminology of kinship to suggest loyalty
and trust. For example, the metaphor of father/son relations was used
between non-relatives to indicate the intimacy and mutual reliance
implicit in the lord/dependent relationship. Amatus of Montecassino
makes several references to people in authority 'adopting' as a son
a younger or less powerful man.[45] An explicit appeal to kinship as
a basis for political loyalty appears in the previously mentioned inter-
actions between Roger II, Rainulf, and Matilda. Clearly, both Rainulf
and Roger II felt he should be the one to benefit from the politi-
cal alliance—though they were on opposing sides of the conflict.
Similarly, before Robert Guiscard conquered Salerno, the leader of
the enemy forces in Salerno, Prince Gisulf—who was also his brother-
in-law—appealed to their kinship to make peace, not war. Certainly
the chronicles imply a familiar link between the formation of power
alliances and the language of family relations. But the chronicles also
show the limits of kinship ties. In the end, Prince Gisulf fared no
better than Count Rainulf, and for both kinship ties, through mar-
riage at least, were not inviolable.[46]

Family bonds could also combine sincerity and manipulation. We
see this dual role in Roger I's lament for his dead son Simon, who
had been his eldest then alive:

> Deprived of his son by mortal illness, the bereaved father,
> Lest he lament, lacking the joy of parenthood,
> Is blessed with an offspring. As if blooming by heavenly provision
> The mother's joyful womb is made fruitful, swells and becomes heavy:
> The child grows as the birth approaches
> Father and Mother both pray to God that it will be a boy.
> While his seed is growing, he makes all sorts of vows.
> Let the foetus now be safe within the mother's belly!
> After nine months of expectancy, the womb hastens to give fruit.

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[45] See *Amatus*, II.6, p. 63; II.32, p. 97; III.10, pp. 122–123. Amatus' chronicle is
known to us only through a fourteenth-century French translation. There is, of
course, the possibility that his phraseology was therefore altered. Taviani-Carozzi
also noted the language of adoption employed by Amatus, but she did not con-
sider the interpretive problems created by the later translation, Taviani-Carozzi
(1991), ii.924–927. She argues that the use of kinship terminology was a means to
legitimise the relationships of the Normans to the Lombards, and hence to legit-
imise the position of the Normans in southern Italy.

[46] *Amatus*, VIII.27, p. 368.

A child is plucked forth: nobody is sad, all are joyful.
The nurses are happy at the breaking of the waters.
The announcement that a boy is born brings forth new joy!
The mother hears it and rejoices, there is no need for sorrow;
They hasten and announce the joyful news to the happy father!
Who claps his hands, rejoicing that his prayers are answered.
He grants requests, and rewards the messenger with rich presents,
He orders more such gifts, and is pleased to be generous to the poor.
Let the pain of death, once heavy and strong, from the loss of a son
Be softened and forgotten by hope with this joyful birth.
At the font, as his brow is anointed with chrism, he is named Simon,
The count has an heir: a future duke is furnished for Sicily,
The Calabrians choose for themselves to be subject to his sword.
And since it is given to him to be a father, he fulfils his every vow.[47]

The lament emphasises lineage as much as loss, heirship strategy as much as a father's joy over the birth of his new-born son. The primary focus here seems less the birth of a child than what the child represents in terms of family power.

Thus far we find that families in medieval southern Italy were very fluid, both in their composition, and their roles. Kin assisted one another in the public and private realms, motivated perhaps by sentiment, perhaps by patrimonial or political aims. Families assumed numerous configurations as the kinship group was as broad or as narrow as circumstances required. We turn now to the role that families played specifically in the construction of Norman government and power in the south. And to do this we return to the family with whom this study began, Tancred of Hauteville and his heirs.

The kinship network that Drogo, William, Roger, and Robert created comprised many of the leading families of the medieval Mezzogiorno. Intermarriage was clearly a strategy of the conquest. It is well-known that Robert Guiscard repudiated his Norman wife, Alberada, on the grounds of suddenly-acknowledged consanguinity. Whether the excuse was legitimate or merely convenient, Robert was then able to marry the sister of the Lombard Prince Gisulf II of Salerno.[48] The Byzantine chronicler, Anna Comnena marveled at Guiscard's ability to engineer strategic marriage alliances for his family members—and himself:

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[47] *Malaterra*, IV.19, p. 98, translation by G.A. Loud.
[48] For a different, and less cynical, view of this marriage, see Loud (2000a), 127–8.

There [at Salerno] he made excellent arrangements for his other daughters and then prepared for the campaign. [. . .] One daughter he had pledged to Raymond, son of the count Barcinon; the other he married off to Ebulus, who was himself a count of great distinction. Nor did these alliances prove unprofitable for Robert; in fact, from all sources he had consolidated and amassed power for himself—from his family, from his rule, from his inheritance rights, from all manner of ways which another man would not even consider.[49]

Another useful marriage alliance included the marriage of Guiscard's brother, Count William of the Principate to the daughter of Duke Guido of Sorrento. Through intermarriage, the heirs of Tancred joined the families of the Princes of Capua and Aversa, the Princes of Salerno and the junior branches of that kin-group (lords of Capaccio, de Mannia, and Gifone), while Roger II helped establish his rule on the mainland through marriages between his female relatives and aristocratic families such as the Counts of Caiazzo and the lords of Montescaglioso.[50] And it was, of course, the direct descendants of Guiscard's brother Count Roger I of Sicily, who became the kings of Sicily.

Apart from their initial efforts to insinuate themselves into southern Italian society through marriage, the Normans had very little effect on family systems in the medieval Mezzogiorno. This is unsurprising since the Normans immigrated to the south in such small numbers that they could not effect a 'Normanisation' of culture, law, and practices. Rather, they adapted and assimilated to, for example, prevailing customs of marriage and inheritance—whether such customs were Lombard or Roman in legal origin. However, the establishment of the kingdom of southern Italy and Sicily (the Regno) signalled some changes in the relationship between family power and central political authority. Tancred's royal heirs, kings Roger II, William I, and William II, made efforts to control through legislation certain marriage and inheritance practices that had previously been the exclusive domain of kin groups. For example, Roger II issued an edict (Vatican Assize xxvii) declaring that marriages must be enacted in public and be confirmed by priestly blessing, if they

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[49] *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter (Harmondsworth 1969), I.12, p. 61.
[50] Loud (2000a), 128, 299–305.

were to convey valid inheritance rights.[51] This law may have reflected
the current post-Gregorian reform climate in which the consensual
and public nature of a valid marriage was the subject of much
debate.[52] Royal involvement in the contracting of marriages is attested
to during the reign of Roger's son, William I.[53] The need to con-
tract 'valid' marriages—thereby ensuring the legitimate claims of
heirs—was a concern echoed back in the eleventh century.[54] The
involvement of the king, however, was new. In this way, at least in
theory, the king gained a powerful means of control over a previ-
ously unregulated and private sphere of society.

Families in southern Italy also lost some of their autonomy during
the reign of William I.[55] He regulated the total percentage of family
property that could be included in dowries.[56] He further prohib-
ited the inclusion of strategic family properties in a dowry. William's
laws were aimed unmistakably at the upper stratum of the kingdom's
nobility when he declared that while a 'baron or knight' could estab-
lish a dowry from the *castra* he controlled, the *castrum* itself, 'from
which the barony/county takes its name', could not be included as
part of a dowry.[57] By excluding strategic properties from dowries,
he insured that important lands were not lost when daughters mar-
ried and 'left' the family.[58]

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[51] Brandileone (1884), 108–9, 125–6 = Monti (1945), 137–8. Vaccari (1955),
206–11.
[52] Given the distinction in charters between betrothal and marriage, as well as
the preoccupation in some chronicles with legitimate marriage, it is likely that that
Roger's *Assise* merely reflected the prevailing mood of his day regarding the issue
of priest-sanctioned and 'legitimate' marriage. See Marongiu (1961), 5–11, Marongiu
(1963), 3, Marongiu (1963–64), 318, Brundage (1987), 335, 336, 442.
[53] It is most likely in reference to *Assise* xxvii that the chronicler 'Hugo Falcandus'
noted the outcry by the nobility against restrictive marriage legislation. This confirms
that some type of royal permission to make a legal marriage existed during the
reign of William I. According to him, the nobles specifically complained that the
law requiring permission for marriages forced their daughters to wait too long for
marriage, *Falcandus*, 64 [translation, *Tyrants*, 116–117].
[54] Loud (2000a), 127–8, and more generally Brundage (1987), 229–414.
[55] It is unclear to which 'King William' (I or II) the *Liber Augustalis* is referring.
See the introduction to Powell's translation, *Liber Augustalis*, xix.
[56] *Liber Augustalis*, III.xiii, xix, pp. 113, 115 ('King William'). *Konstitutionen Friedrichs
II*, 378–9, 383–4.
[57] *Liber Augustalis* III.xiii. Frederick would later make an emendation to King
William's dowry law to ensure that where a lord possessed only one fief, then
dowries had to be in money, not land, *Liber Augustalis* III.xv, pp. 113–114, *Konstitutionen
Friedrichs II*, 381.
[58] King William also tried to regulate the fraction of total property that could
be used for a dowry. His law stated that a baron or knight required three fiefs at

The royal legislation concerning marriage and dowries confirms the central role that families performed in southern Italian medieval society. Kinship, property, and political authority were interrelated. For this reason, patrimonial issues that pertained to family organisation, such as who should receive legacies or, what should be included in a daughter's dowry, were not viewed as exclusive concerns of family members. Likewise, tender expressions of family affection were not necessarily detached from bigger (and arguably less sentimental) issues of politics and patrimony.

The variability of political and patrimonial circumstances further suggests that there was no simple model of a family in Norman southern Italy. Families were complex and dynamic, flexible and shrewd. A family was as inclusive or exclusive of the extended family as the circumstances warranted. In the medieval Mezzogiorno, family power helped to create territorial states (as with Gaeta and Salerno), and even a remarkable kingdom. To achieve and maintain power, a family needed to consider both its past and its future, through awareness of both lineage and legacy. This multigenerational vision was a strategy in itself. And if at times their priorities appear rather calculated and cold to the modern mindset, we might remember that security for the future—in terms of status, territory, and authority—was perceived as one generation's obligation to the next.

a minimum in order to alienate one of them as a dowry. While the law reiterated the obligation of brothers to provide dowries for their sisters, it stated that dowries could only consist of the named fief if 'the brothers (did) not have movable property or heritable tenancies' which they could otherwise alienate. *Liber Augustalis,* III.xvii, p. 115 (King William) 'About brothers who obligate part of a fief for the dowries of sisters' (*Konstitutionen Friedrichs II,* 382).

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PART TWO

GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCH

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CHANCERIES, CHARTERS AND ADMINISTRATION IN NORMAN ITALY[1]

Horst Enzensberger

A chancery was one of the key features of established lordship in the Middle Ages, and its products were an important contribution to the image of the ruler. It provided the means of communication, both internal and external, gave written form to the ruler's decisions, organised the procedure for petitions, and co-ordinated administrative measures. Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw major advances in their development, both in terms of organisation and content. Above all the chancery played an important role in the creation of an administration, in that it expressed the king's orders in written form and dealt with incoming correspondence. In western and central Europe it was usually staffed by members of the court clergy, and was closely connected with the court chapel, since clerics for the most part still possessed an effective monopoly over the written word. Thus the example of the chancery is extremely useful for the study of the lands in southern Italy under Norman rule, which were a meeting-place for different cultural traditions—Norman, Lombard and Greek. Here, however, knowledge of the written word was not confined to the clergy. Even if the production of books remained very largely in the hands of ecclesiastics until the late Middle Ages, a considerable number of notaries appear to have been laymen.[2] Requirements for a functioning chancery were a certain level of literacy, above all the growing transfer to writing of legally relevant transactions and instructions, and the acceptance of documents as legally valid proof, which was inextricably linked with the introduction of Roman law that began in the twelfth century.[3]

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[1] I have to thank Prof. Vera von Falkenhausen, not only for her critique of this chapter but also for making her most recent work available to me in typescript. This chapter has been translated from the German by G.A. Loud.
[2] For the royal chancery, Enzensberger (1981), 19, Enzensberger (1998), 29–30.
[3] Although a royal diploma was not completely valueless, the actual proof was as a rule provided by the testimony of the witnesses.

As an instrument of the administrative structure writing was a cultural element that required at least a certain level of education. However, it was not absolutely necessary for all those involved in the implementation of the law to be literate to the same degree. A partial literacy, as can be shown for some of the Lombard areas of southern Italy,[4] could suffice for the parties in legal procedures, and to fulfil the formal demands of the Roman legal system.[5] However, this necessitated the availability of a group of specialised 'technicians' to undertake the actual preparation of written instruments. They could be found in the *tabelliones*, or public notaries, who were active in the communes of northern Italy, at Rome, and also in the urban centres of the south.[6]

The writing down of legal business was a requirement of Roman law, which can be shown to have survived on a long-term basis in the area which we are studying. That Roman law survived, and was used in written format in every day legal procedure, can be deduced from the private charters of central and southern Italy for centuries after the fall of the Roman empire to the assaults of the Germanic tribes—those whom the Italians, in their strikingly Roman cultural tradition, term the Barbarians.

This is not solely explicable through the survival of a Romanised subject people, although its existence can hardly be doubted. The consequences of the Byzantine policy of reconquest, which brought *romanitas* in other linguistic forms to the land, where it was successfully received, can also only provide a partial explanation.[7] It is in any case interesting that part of the early tradition of Byzantine law seems to have originated in southern Italy, and that it therefore derived from clear necessity and not just from a learned tradition. One cannot doubt the importance of Greek documents in the context of charters and law, even if this can only be dealt with here in brief.[8] But in the end it was Latin, enriched with Lombard, Greek

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[4] Petrucci & Romeo (1992), first given as a paper at a conference of the International Committee for Paleography at Munich in 1981.

[5] On the literacy of witnesses, something which can probably also be deduced from *Liber Augustalis*, I.82, and on its foundation in Roman Law, see Dilcher (1975), 342.

[6] Dilcher (1981), Caravale (1982), Falkenhausen & Amelotti (1982), Magistrale (1984), Pratesi (1987), Amelotti (1989), and Falkenhausen (1994a).

[7] Ferrari della Spada (1910), Ferrari della Spada (1939).

[8] See below, chapter 9, along with Falkenhausen (1981), and her other studies which derive examples from the Medinaceli Archive.

and (in Sicily) Arabic terminology, that asserted itself as the language of the law.[9] An important part was also played by the Latin Church, in which the development of canon law, and especially the decretal legislation of the twelfth-century popes, did not only affect internal ecclesiastical matters. Towards the end of the century the differences with the Greek religious and linguistic group became more clearly defined.[10] Moreover, quite a large part of our evidence is of ecclesiastical origin. This may seem a statement of stunning banality, but it is one which shows a picture of this period in a particular perspective. One should also stress that a by no means negligible part of the surviving twelfth-century papal decretals were decisions in response to questions by south Italian prelates.[11]

The charter in southern Italy was also a mark of the ruler's presence, for in accordance with a Novel of Justinian and other legal provisions both the indiction number and the individual ruler's name had to be inserted in charters as a proof of their legal validity.[12] One of the requirements of the peace treaty between Charlemagne and the Lombard princes of Benevento was that the former should be mentioned by name in local charters. Here we have to rely on the evidence of Erchempert, for the number of surviving texts from this period is too small to be able to check this statement.[13] Later on, the naming of the Byzantine emperor was also the rule for Latin charters, especially in Apulia, and the gradual imposition of Norman overlordship can also be deduced from the dating clauses of private charters. One can, indeed, recognise phases of political instability in which notaries either omitted the lord's name or cited different pretenders at the same time. One should note that while in general the title was required to be given in its official chancery form, at least in the Norman period, this was never a universal practice. So if the Norman king was described in private charters as *rex Italiae* this does not represent claims by the court at Palermo to a general lordship over the peninsula, nor does it show romantic ideas by local notaries about Italian unity. It may rather have derived from memories of the Byzantine use of 'Italy', to describe those territories in southern

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[9] Falkenhausen (1980a).
[10] Enzensberger (1987), 178–80, and see below in the chapter by Herde.
[11] See Enzensberger (1987), 177–85.
[12] Novella 47: *Ut praeponitur nomen imperatoris.* See Breslau (1926), ii.416, Fichtenau (1969), 127–48.
[13] Enzensberger (1989c), 307.

Italy ruled over by the Catepan as governor. 'Italy' as a territorial description was thus limited to a particular region.[14]

There is also another historiographical witness to the value of charters, the chartulary chronicles.[15] Although Peter the Deacon seized the opportunity to include many forgeries or interpolated documents in his register, this is explicable given the usual framework of medieval ideas.[16] The Chronicle of St. Bartholomew of Carpineto poses a particular problem of transmission, in that no medieval manuscripts of it have survived, although by contrast those of St. Vincent on Volturno and St. Clement at Casauria are still available in the original.[17] However, some of the charters copied in the Carpineto chronicle also survive in the original, hence the working methods of the chronicler Alexander can, to some extent anyway, be evaluated. He too could not resist the temptation to introduce alterations into his collection. He was too cautious to omit the privilege of Alexander III in which his monastery's unwelcome subordination to the Bishop of Penne was formally inscribed; rather the forger had already altered the clause outlining the rights reserved to the diocesan bishop. Whether the chronicler recoiled on ethical grounds from a revision of the forged papal document, or whether he himself was the forger, must remain open.[18]

The advantage of written communication is also evident from the transmission of decretals, which served the popes in the organisation of their delegated legal authority. Canonists made summary versions of these for their registers; instructions and orders were recorded, although without the recipient necessarily being recorded.[19] One should also remember that the reason why a charter was drawn up might not only come from what happened in a case of disputed jurisdiction but also from the grant or confirmation of rights requested by the party concerned, who also took care to preserve the written

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[14] This corresponds with the inscription on Roger II's sword, where both Italy and Africa are cited: the latter usage was derived from the short-lived overlordship over Tunis.

[15] Pratesi (1976), Arnaldi (1976), Enzensberger (1992b), 136–7.

[16] For Peter, see Hoffmann (1971).

[17] For Carpineto see Holtzmann (1956), for Volturno Hoffmann (1966), and Casauria Feller (1993). A parallel case is that of the *Chronicon Pharpense* of Gregory of Catino, which although from outside the Norman kingdom can be located within the Lombard tradition.

[18] *Italia Pontificia*, iv.294–5 no. 5, Enzensberger (1992b), 138–9, 142–5.

[19] Holtzmann (1958).

instrument. This does not exclude the possibility that, in some exceptional cases where the pope acted on his own initiative, documents would be sent directly from the Curia.

Similar procedures can be observed in the vicinity of the Norman court and consequently the chancery acting as its 'communications centre'. This applied both to the system of Norman delegated jurisdiction, with the direct involvement of the plaintiff in the case, and also to the publicising of legislative ordinances through the administrative hierarchy.

Arabic written administrative practice appears to be at least a distant model for the chancery in Palermo.[20] We have at least a few surviving originals of the lists of serfs (*plateia* or *jarīda*) and the documents of the *dohana* (*dīwān*) which draw upon Arabic taxation lists but were revised and updated in the Norman period, and which include written lists of villeins in Arabic.[21] The *defetarii* or *deptarii*, which should be seen as a type of cadaster or tax register, were fundamental here.[22] Thus during the twelfth century three different languages were in use, although Latin was undoubtedly the most important of the three. One should remember that Arabic documents can only be found in Sicily, and that the influence of Arabic administrative practice also only survived into the Norman period on the island.

However, a fourth group, the Jews, has left little or no trace in the administrative documents; for although they played a certain role in the life of towns like Palermo, they always remained a small minority. Claims are made for the Jews on the basis of propagandist evidence such as the gravestone that was commissioned by the court cleric Grisandus.[23] There is clear evidence also in the segregation ordinances that Frederick II included in the Assizes of Capua and Messina, while in the Constitutions of Melfi their role as providers of financial services was also described. Unlike Christians, they were

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[20] Enzensberger (1981), 105, De Simone (1988).

[21] Most have Greek transliterations of the names, while in the Monreale boundary documents Latin transcriptions replace the Greek; see De Simone (1988), 60–4, Enzens-berger (1995a), 57, 62, 64–5. For the diwan, Takayama (1993), 81–93, replaces older discussions.

[22] *Defterdari* was still the term used to describe keepers of payment registers in the Turkish chancery in Osmani Constantinople, as we can see, for example, from the testimony of Leonardo Donà in 1596, *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato*, xiii *Constantinopoli (1590–1793)*, ed. L. Firpo (Turin 1984), 325.

[23] Krönig (1989), Johns (1995), 140–1, but see Houben's chapter in this volume, below p. 326.

to be allowed to practice usury.[24] We are here going beyond the strict chronological limits of this study, but it is indisputable that there was a continuity of charter production and chancery organisation, both in practice and in theory, between the Norman and Staufen periods.[25]

The Latins should not, however, be seen as a homogenous group. Even under the Normans the indigenous inhabitants of the Lombard principalities remained loyal to their own traditional 'Beneventan' script, in contrast to the Carolingian minuscule which the newcomers had introduced. In charters the cursive form of the former script led to the so-called 'curial script', although this was not always up to the calligraphic standard shown by books written in the former Lombard territories.[26] But even though the Normans had very mixed retinues, in which the clerical monopoly over writing was strongly maintained, this was rarely used in chancery operations.

Insofar as we can ascertain any biographical details about those involved in the chancery of the Norman rulers in Palermo, its business lay very largely in the hands of notaries of Lombard origin. This feature was still more marked for the duchy of Apulia and for the Norman principalities established in Lombard territory like that of Capua. The chancery notaries, who were described as *notarii domini Regis*, had what seems to have been a high opinion of themselves, as we can see both from the narrative sources and from the charters themselves, although we know of this primarily from reports of the scandalous conduct of all too greedy notaries, who then had at their disposal the right contacts and friends to protect them.[27] There is naturally a distinction in the terminology between the formula in the *Corroboratio*, where on the model of Lombard documents the name of the notary is given—described as *notarius noster*—the syntax of the documents makes the ruler the fictive speaker here—and in the description of the notary in the witness lists which have only occasionally been transmitted to us.[28] The suffix *domini Regis* can indeed also be found

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[24] Dilcher (1975), 83–8, Enzensberger (1987), 178.

[25] Kölzer (1986).

[26] The degeneration of this cursive script led to its use being forbidden by Frederick II, Dilcher (1975), 336, 531, Enzensberger (1989c), 306–7, Magistrale (1994), 171. In Troia, Carolingian minuscule was used for notarial charters from 1138 onwards, Magistrale (1994), 183–6.

[27] Above all, *Falcandus*, 91–2, 112–14 [*Tyrants*, 140, 163–4]. Enzensberger (1971), 55–6, (1981), 121–3, (1989a), 413–14.

[28] Enzensberger (1971), 49–50.

in the documents applied to other functionaries of the Norman king-
dom. This gave expression to a position of direct dependence in the
administrative system of the kingdom, whereas the attribute 'royal'
(*regius*) that we often find used for notaries in private charters, must
rather be seen as a mark of legitimate authority, that permitted the
notary to exercise his office. Towards the end of the twelfth century
the phrase *regia* (or *imperiali*) *auctoritate* was often used as a mark of
this legitimisation, and this later became the standard formula.

We can say nothing about the notaries of Greek and Arabic speech,
although a few names have been transmitted to us. Whether the
order of rank that can be observed in the well-known miniatures of
the Berne codex of Peter of Eboli, in which first the Greeks and
then the Arabs follow the Latin notaries, corresponds to the reality
of the Palermitan chancery cannot be securely established, while a
quantative or numerical judgement from the number of documents
transmitted to us is fraught with uncertainty. Nevertheless, a few
notaries can be identified who had long careers and played an impor-
tant part in the production of documents. In the early decades of
the twelfth century one may well view at least the Latin part of the
chancery as a one-man operation. Matters were different after the
creation of the kingdom, and with the introduction of a chancellor
the hierarchical structure was brought into line with what was stan-
dard for other European kingdoms. But this office was left vacant
fairly soon after the death of Maio of Bari—Matthew the notary
and Richard, Bishop-elect of Syracuse, appear to have carried out
the duties in partnership—and it did not survive the fall of Stephen
of Perche, the royal relative summoned to Sicily by the Queen-dowa-
ger Margaret. Among the reasons for this, both the power struggle
between the various functionaries and members of the *Curia Regis*
and considerations of a financial nature may have played a part,
such as the share-out of the income set aside for the chancellor's
office. We have also occasional evidence for the *tenimenta cancellarie*,
and at least this property, set aside for the endowment of the chan-
cellor's office, survived the period of vacancy.[29] The presence of a
vice-chancellor naturally and obviously suggests at least the idea of

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[29] Enzensberger (1981), 121. Whether the grant of a fief was the invariable reward
for a notary's service cannot be ascertained; this would seem to have been the case
for the casale which Matthew the notary bestowed upon the monastery of the Holy
Saviour, Messina, *ibid.*, 119, Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, ii.980.

a chancellor, in whose place he acts. Matthew filled the office of vice-chancellor for something like two decades, but in fact this does not mean that he was acting as deputy for anybody else. But despite this, the title of chancellor retained its status, even at the period when the office was left vacant, and this can be seen from Matthew, in the last years of his life, being rewarded for his role in making Tancred king by his appointment as chancellor. We cannot be sure whether this was in response to Matthew's own wishes or if the naming of a chancellor was intended to make Tancred's disputed kingship seem, at least insofar as its administration went, more in conformity with the usual European pattern. This remains open to interpretation, but it is quite possible that both considerations played a part.[30]

The Chancery and its business

The role of the chancery in the Sicilian kingdom grew more important due to the increasing immobility of the kings from William I onwards. It provided a means of communication with the provinces, and especially with the mainland parts of the kingdom, Apulia, Campania and Calabria.[31] Indeed, this development was already visible during the last years of Roger II, as can be seen from his itinerary—after 1150 he appears not to have left Sicily, and to have stayed either in Palermo or Messina. We find his son and successor William I on the mainland in 1155, then in 1156 when he suppressed the rebellion in Apulia and concluded the Treaty of Benevento with Pope Hadrian IV, and again in 1162; but apart from these visits William I can only be attested in Sicily.[32]

After he had reached his majority, William II undertook a journey to the south Italian mainland in 1172, travelling through the strategically important region of Taranto into Apulia, and then on into Campania. This served to show that he had taken over the reins of power from the regency government. By July 1172 the king was once again in Palermo. From December 1182 until May 1183 William II seems to have undertaken something of a pilgrimage, first to Apulia and the to Salerno, Capua and Montecassino, and in June and July 1185 documents show him making a visit to Brindisi, from

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[30] For Matthew's earlier ambitions, *Falcandus*, 109 [*Tyrants*, 158–9].
[31] Enzensberger (1992a), 111–18.
[32] Enzensberger (1994), 332–3.

where the military expedition for the attack on Durazzo and Thessalonica was about to depart. Thereafter, right up to his death, he can only be attested on the island of Sicily.[33] The situation under Tancred was naturally influenced by the peculiar political and military circumstances, but these had no effect upon the organisational structure of the state. However, although Frederick II was, before his departure for Germany in 1212, to be found above all at Messina, thereafter he undertook a much wider field of activity.[34] After his second visit to Germany in 1235–6 his kingdom's centre of gravity lay in northern Apulia, while he spent quite a lot of his time outside its borders altogether. Hence a well-organised chancery for the issuing of written instructions was extremely important. There do not seem to have been many developments within the chancery under the Staufen, although the circle of those who received its documents was widened to include subjects of the empire. However, the focus of chancery activity, so far as this is know to us, still lay within the kingdom of Sicily. The fragmentary register which preserves a substantial part of the surviving documents of Frederick II makes a significant contribution to this picture; about a quarter of the documents that we possess which were addressed to south Italian recipients during the years 1199 to 1266 come from the eight months from October 1239 to May 1240, that is from this register of Frederick.[35]

The chancery provided a link with the provinces through its written mandates, while from the time of Roger II onwards a provincial administrative apparatus was created, and thereafter constantly improved. This must have undergone considerable reorganisation under Frederick II after the years of anarchy before 1220. The regional and local administration also needed notaries to carry out all the duties that were required of it.[36]

Along with the privileges drawn up by the chancery for persons who requested them, it also had to transmit to the organs of the provincial administration the instructions of the king and his closest counsellors and collaborators in the form of mandates. The chancery officials were also entrusted with the processing of incoming corre-

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[33] Enzensbeger (1992a), 112–13.
[34] Enzensberger (1994), 335–6.
[35] Enzensberger (1985), 61–9, Enzensberger (1989a), 302–3.
[36] Enzensberger (1971), 109–15, Enzensberger (1992a), 114. Jamison (1913) remains the best study of the provincial administration, see also Takayama (1993), 73–80, 104–14. 143–62.

spondence, accounts, inquiries, communications about the execution of mandates, and so forth. All this was already underway in the Norman period, but was developed in a variety of ways and increased in scope under Frederick II.[37] A crucial part of this system was the transference of functions and competences through delegation. Most of the documents delegating authority from the Norman and Staufen periods are concerned with individual cases in which the interested parties have appealed to the court, either in person or through their envoys. Along with these there are also general regulations about jurisdiction, which we can identify in some of the Norman assizes and the Staufen constitutions, and can above all be recognised as chancery ordinances. Some of these general regulations concerning jurisdictions can also be derived from the narrative sources of the Norman period.

As we can see from the chancery ordinance of Frederick II, general rules had not yet been developed for petitions. It would seem from the testimony of both 'Hugo Falcandus' and the Carpineto chronicle that the chancellor, or later Matthew as vice-chancellor, was responsible for the reception of complaints and for the preliminary hearing to establish the facts of a case and its implications. Only then apparently was an audience with the king allowed.[38] In a few cases the principal ministers, the *familiares*, pronounced independent judgements. Royal mandates were received with great reverence, as the documents themselves occasionally reveal, although we have no other information about the ritual of such transactions.[39]

It is obvious that, at least in the Norman period, the competence of the chancery was not always clearly distinguished from that of the High Court. The chancery remained responsible for the dispatch of the relevant documents, but in the last decade of the reign of William II both the justiciars of the High Court and the provincial justiciars also utilised their personal notaries, and this was expressly sanctioned by Frederick II's legislation.[40] Under the Norman kings the justiciars of the *magna curia* appear to have functioned as the

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[37] Enzensberger (1989c) 313–14, Enzensberger (1992a), 116–17.

[38] *Falcandus*, 112–13 [*Tyrants*, 163–4], *Chronicon di Carpineto*, ed. Fusilli [above, p. 50 note 6], 151.

[39] Thus in July 1182 at Salerno a document for the monastery of Cava was described as 'received with the utmost reverence and devotion, as is proper', Kehr (1902), 448–52 no. 25.

[40] Enzensberger (1971), 109–15. Dilcher (1975), 389–90.

supreme court of appeal, but only for the island of Sicily, while the Master Justiciars fulfilled the same role on the mainland. In cases which had been the subject of appeal from the mainland provinces directly to the king's court, these were dealt with by the *familiares*, sometimes called the *domini curie*.[41] It can also be seen from the *narratio* of the mandate concerned whether the king himself was personally involved with the case. However, that was by no means always the case; the last legal case in which a Norman king can be found taking part occurred in Apulia in 1172.[42] This came from the time when William II was traveling through the provinces of his kingdom, showing himself to his subjects as being of age and ruling in his own right. The ruler came to be freed, and distanced from, the personal exercise of his judicial role, and in this respect the Staufen *magna curia* was the natural successor to the Norman royal court, although there cannot have been an unbroken continuity during the years of Frederick II's minority and his absence in Germany. Cases of lése-majesté and high treason, as well as those involving fiefs, were reserved to the jurisdiction of the central court. The chancery did involve itself in many cases in the name of the king; but this resulted from the frequent discontent created by the working methods of the local officials, and their slowness, as well as the procedural tricks of opposing parties. This gave rise to the possibility of appeals to higher authority. In the mainland provinces there were two stages to the appeal process, first from the justiciar to the Master Justiciar, and then to the *Curia*, the High Court in Palermo. In Sicily there was however only a single appeal process, to the *Curia Regis*. In a few important cases the matter could be brought directly to the ruler for judgement. From time to time, however, just the threat of appeal to Palermo was sufficient, because the exercise of legal rights derived from the central power at local level could undoubtedly cause problems. This was certainly not something peculiar to the kingdom of Sicily, papal or imperial decisions had also in the first instance to be carried out and put into practice in the locality.

While in the time of William I the clergy played almost no part in the chancery, under Frederick their role became once again more

[41] Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti* (1994 ed.), 43. On the *familiares*, see especially Takayama (1989), and Takayama (1993), 98–101, 115–25.

[42] Pergamene Aldobrandini [up to 1990 in the Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, now at Frascati], Cartolario II no. 25, a judgement in favour of St. Sophia, Benevento, for which see Loud (1997), 290.

important, even though many of the most important people there
did not belong to the clerical order. Many members of the chancery
came from the mainland, above all from the Campania. That was the
case both in the time of William II, with the notary, vice-chancellor
and later chancellor Matthew and his followers, and for the chancery
notaries and *relatores* under Frederick II, among whom Henry of Bilver-
sheim, later to be Bishop of Bamberg, constitutes an exception.[43]
Under William I, Matthew dealt with the incoming correspondence
from the provinces, fulfilling a role that was the same as that assigned
to Guglielmo of Tocco in the chancery ordinance of Frederick II;
he had to examine the documents and extract what was not to be
dealt with by the inner circle of the government. Even as vice-
chancellor he thus remained closely linked with everyday business.[44]

Legal jurisdiction and procedure

The all-embracing legal jurisdiction of the king in a medieval state
could not always be exercised in person; it thus rendered necessary
the employment of his officials, whose jurisdiction could however be
limited. One should here stress the important Norman legislation
about the *crimen laesae maiestatis* in Vatican Assize 18.[45] Although this
was not repeated in quite this form in the *Liber Augustalis*, there were
indeed regulations included there (for example Bk. I c. 38) which
fixed the jurisdiction of the *magister iustitiarius* and the *iustitiarius*.[46] In
the Norman period one can deduce such a superior jurisdiction of
the king and his *Curia* from the various privileges of immunity, which
regularly mention a reservation in these matters, as they also do with
regard to other capital offences—the relevant clause reads *nobis vel
curie nostre*, thus revealing a jurisdictional equality between the king
and the High Court. In the time of Roger II the king still acted as
president in the majority of cases, if not also as judge. The result
of such a procedure was very often a compromise settlement. But
while we find William I taking part in a session of the High Court
at Salerno in March 1155, there was later to be no question of the
king being there in person (the only time that William II did this

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[43] For him, Zinsmaier (1974), 143.
[44] Enzensberger (1992a), 116,
[45] Monti (1945), 128–30.
[46] *Konstitutionen Friedrichs. II*, 191–5, cf. *Liber Augustalis*, 44–5 (with different numbering).

was, as said above, at Barletta in May 1172), although he might entrust the investigation of particular cases to the *familiares*.

Complaints and other petitions were brought to the king or his *Curia*, either in person, through representatives or in writing. The surviving evidence does not permit us to be absolutely certain, but we know, for example, from a number of mandates that petitions were submitted directly to the king. We can read in the *narratio* clause that somebody 'complained to our majesty saying' (*conquestus est maiestati dicens*),[47] or it says 'having complained, he showed, expounded and laid out his charge' (*conquestus, ostendit, exposuit, querelam deposuit*). However, there are other cases in which it says *conquestus est curie nostre*—thus the plea was made directly to the High Court, perhaps also to the *familiares*—also described as the *domini curie*, as we find in the illustration of Peter of Eboli.[48] The royal court was also the addressee of a petition in a mandate of the vice-chancellor Matthew of 1185.[49] Above all, we learn of the role of written documents in the legal procedure—petitions of complaint in the Roman law sense—which are sometimes referred to in mandates and sometimes actually copied there. The first examination of the cases brought before the royal court appears to have been part of the chancellor's duties. The chancellor (or in the reign of William II the vice-chancellor Matthew) was entrusted with the preparation, and then perhaps also the principal notaries. The mandate that was mentioned above gives a good example of Matthew's duties.

Justice was either sought directly from the Court—although the case was almost always delegated back to the provinces, or the justiciars and other local officials were charged with the inquiry—or appeal was made to an itinerant tribunal and thence to the king. Nevertheless, even in those cases delegation was used as a means of facilitating matters. Although the text of a mandate could already include an instruction to assist a legitimate plea, this was always followed by a reservation about the justice of the petitioner's claims (*si ita est* etc.); this was the qualificatory clause known in early Roman

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[47] Enzensberger (1971), no. 131 [= *Le Pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari (1075–1194)*, ed. F. Nitti di Vito (*Cod. Dipl. Barese*, v, Bari 1902), 249–51 no. 145].

[48] Holtzmann (1956), 98 no. 1, 99 no. 5 [= Enzensberger (1971), register nos. 103, 163. References in this form refer to the register of royal documents in Enzensberger (1971), 116–39].

[49] Enzensberger (1992b), 169–70; the text can also be found at http://www.uni-bamberg.de/~ba5hh1/forschung/Baustein.html#matheus.

law as the *veritas precum*.[50] At other times the decision was reserved to the High Court, it then followed after an examination of the evidence from the province.

Evelyn Jamison rightly ascribed the introduction of the *magistri iusticiari* of the royal court to the year 1156. The first person whom we find described by this title in the sources is Rainald de Tusa, when he was in Genoa in January 1157 to accept the sworn oath of the commune to observe the treaty with Sicily which had been concluded in the previous November. In January 1159 there were three such officials, Rainald de Tusa, Rainald Avenel of Petralia, and the Greek Iudex Tarantinus—and this number three became the norm thereafter.[51] They usually acted as together. This collegiality was a feature of the higher offices of the kingdom, and it should probably be understood as a safety measure against the caprice of an individual. It thus acted as a mutual control, but was also a safety measure for the functionaries if there were problems.

The office of *magister iustitiarius* on the mainland was always held by two men acting together: in 1172, for example, these were Count Richard of Gravina and Count Robert of Caserta.[52] From 1157 there were also *magistri camerarii*, for the separate provinces of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro, and Calabria respectively. The first incumbent of the former post was a certain Bersacius, attested from 1157 until 1164, and in the early years of William II the two Master Chamberlains of Apulia were Greeks. But this position was abolished c. 1168 with the foundation of the Duana Baronum as the mainland financial and fief registration office.[53] There would seem, therefore, to have been a general administrative reform about 1156, with further changes to the mainland administration in the early years of William II.

The principal local officials of the Norman administration were the justiciars and chamberlains, under them were the bailiffs (*baiuli*), who in the areas once under Byzantine rule were generally known as strateges or catepans.[54] The crimes subject to the jurisdiction of the justiciars were laid down in the Cassinese manuscript of King

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[50] Enzensberger (1981), 134–6.

[51] Jamison (1967), 306, 317–20, cf. Caravale (1966), 159–66, Takayama (1993), 103–4.

[52] Caravale (1966), 268–74, Takayama (1993), 143–5, although the list of Master Justiciars here is incomplete.

[53] Jamison (1913), 295–302, Jamison (1957), 71, 339–40, Takayama (1993), 109–11, 145–57.

[54] Martin (1993), 817–21.

Roger's assizes, a list repeated in a charter of the Count of Molise of 1153.[55] This is fortunate, for most of the surviving charters only describe the part of their duties that touched in some way on tenurial issues. In the assise which described 'What is the power of the Justiciar', it was laid down that they had jurisdiction over robbery, housebreaking, theft, highway robbery (insultus viarum), rape, duels, murder, trials by ordeal (leges parabiles), calumnies, arson, as well as all criminal offences liable to punishment involving loss of life or limb. Proceedings could be begun before the baiuli, who retained jurisdiction over less serious offences.

The duties of the baiuli were described in the Liber Augustalis (I cc. 65–66).[56] Under William II their jurisdiction was twice diminished. First, in 1167 there was the law on the property of vacant churches, where the king relinquished its administration through the baiuli, as had previously been the custom, and left this to the fideles of individual cathedral chapters.[57] Secondly, in 1170 there was the agreement with the Church concerning jurisdiction over adultery and criminous clergy.[58] The baiuli had previously had jurisdiction over adultery, which Roger II had reserved to the worldly power; oversight of this was now handed over entirely to the spiritual power, unless 'assault and violence' (insultus et violentia) were involved.[59] In that case the royal court now had the responsibility, although we do not know whether it then generally delegated such cases or whether they actually had to be dealt with by the High Court itself. The bailiffs were told to assist the spiritual power, 'so that the aforesaid adulteries may be punished and corrected [. . .] you shall provide assistance through which this work may be done'.[60]

A similar edict decreed that the clergy should be subject only to spiritual sanctions, except for cases of treason, murder or other serious offences 'which reflect against our majesty'. In property disputes involving a cleric where he did not hold this property from a

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[55] Ass. Cas. 36, Monti (1945), 159. Jamison (1929), 556–7 no. 2.

[56] Konstitutionen Friedrichs. II, 232–4, Liber Augustalis, 35–6 (with different numbering). Cf. Dilcher (1975), 285–91.

[57] Chalandon (1907), ii.325, Niese (1910), 138, 187–8, Dilcher (1975), 648–51, and cf. Enzensberger (1980), 415, 428.

[58] Dilcher (1975), 197–9, 293–5, 741–3, Enzensberger (1980), 428–30, Enzensberger (1982), 30–1. The text of the assize of William II is in Enzensberger (1971), 144–5 nos. 5–6.

[59] Roger's legislation, Vatican Assize 28, Cassinese Assize 16, Monti (1945), 140–1.

[60] This assistance of the temporal arm was requested by Alexander III, Italia Pontificia, x.232 no. 31; see also the regulation in the Liber Extra, X.5.17.4.

church, then jurisdiction lay with the temporal power, although with the stipulation that clerics might be neither arrested nor imprisoned.[61] Through the formulation and publication of such laws, the chancery made its own contribution to legislation, even if the precise role of individuals is difficult to identify. One may all the same suspect that in this particular case the author was a notary called Alexander.

There were in addition others who enjoyed legal privileges. We know of the development of privileged clerical franchises which were exempted from the general criminal justice system, if not from 'high justice' and all that could be considered as offences against the king's majesty. We also know of similar privileges in favour of individual towns.[62] A particularly striking example is provided by the archimandritate of the Holy Saviour of Messina, founded by Roger II. The king granted the archimandrite rights of jurisdiction over all the monasteries made subject to him, and freed him from the jurisdiction of the bishops (or archbishops) of Messina. If one can trust the charter, the archimandrite was even granted the right to hold his own court.[63] The first pope to confirm these spiritual rights over the other Greek monasteries was Alexander III in 1175. He did not grant any express exemption from the authority of the archbishop, but neither did he clearly lay down what obligations were owed to the diocesan, and by doing this he laid the foundations for later disputes.[64] In 1222 Honorius III made the monastery subject to the archbishop—despite a recommendation to the contrary by Frederick II and the continuing opposition of the Greek monks. It was only in 1472 that Sixtus IV finally made the abbey directly subject to the Holy See.[65] To this spiritual jurisdiction was added temporal rights. In 1149 Roger II granted the archimandrite the rights of 'lower justice' over serfs in the territory of Agrò.[66] In 1177 William II gave the archimandrite jurisdiction over the Val di Tuccio, which had previously belonged to the royal bailiff, with customary reservation of certain cases, although what these were was not expressly specified.[67]

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[61] Enzensberger (1980), 420.
[62] Enzensberger (1980), 420–2; n.b. the agreement about legal protection with Savona in 1128, *Roger II Diplomata*, 24–8 no. 10.
[63] Caspar (1904), 522–4, register nos. 95 and 98 (1134).
[64] *Italia Pontificia*, x.347 no. 1.
[65] Enzensberger (2001), forthcoming.
[66] Caspar (1904), 571, register no. 219.
[67] *Documenti Inediti*, 168 no. 69 [Behring, *Regesten*, no. 207]. Enzensberger (1980), 422.

One may also note the grant of legal jurisdiction by Roger II to the Bishop of Monopoli in 1133, and a year later the king confirmed to the Bishop of Giovinazzo his overall legal authority over the clergy of his diocese.[68] However, a general law on this issue was only promulgated in 1170, which leads one naturally to conclude that up until then the clergy as a whole could be brought before a lay tribunal, and in fact we have enough examples of clerics making a plea before a royal court on spiritual matters, which then also dealt with what was primarily ecclesiastical property. Legal privileges for inland towns were also not unknown in the time of Roger II, and since the first assize in the Vatican collection guaranteed the exercise of local laws, there may well have been jurisdictional franchises about which we do not know.[69]

Legal practice

When a legal case took place, either begun through a royal mandate or, as was more usual, through the hearing of a plea in a session of the justiciar's court, time limits were arranged and the parties were summoned. They then often took refuge in juridical shenanigans, raising objections and bringing forward grounds why they could not appear. Irrespective of whether these were now recognised or rejected, a legal case could last for many years. To counter this, the plaintiffs had the possibility of obtaining a mandate from the royal court to speed up the case. A substantial number of the cases brought before royal courts were not decided through a judicial decision but rather through a settlement concluded between the parties, which was then often recorded in a charter from the royal tribunal. The same was true of proceedings before justiciars, which were often expressly intended to lead to a settlement; the phrase *ad concordiam provocare* could be taken directly as the basis leading to a negotiated agreement.[70] Most of the legal decisions of Roger II recorded in charters were actually *concordia*.[71] Plaintiffs sometimes renounced their

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[68] *Roger II Diplomata*, 78–9 no. 28, 104–6 no. 37.

[69] Monti (1945), 116.

[70] Enzensberger (1989a), 402–5.

[71] E.g. Caspar (1904), register nos. 66, 80 [= *Roger II Diplomata*, no. 23], 96, 158 [= *Roger II Diplomata*, no. 59], 188, 198, 204–5, 211 [= *Roger II Diplomata*, no. 73], 214 [= *Roger II Diplomata*, no. 75]. Collura (1955), no. 48.

claims just before the formal hearing and even eventually paid com-
pensation 'lest we be dragged into court'. Towards the end of the
reign of William II, at the latest, the consent of a royal court was
necessary for an agreement concluding litigation.[72] This regulation
was later codified under Frederick II (*Liber Augustalis*, I c. 105).[73]

When requesting a mandate only charters could be used as evi-
dence (at least from interested parties in southern Italy), but wit-
nesses were demanded in the provincial courts where the *veritas precum*
was tested. On many occasions charters and the testimony of wit-
nesses were both presented, but generally the witnesses seem to have
carried more weight.[74] If necessary, trial by battle was also allowed,
although this was later abolished by Frederick II.[75] It would seem
from a royal mandate to Tancred of Lecce as Master Justiciar in
1183 that the Abbot of St. Nicholas, Troia, must have resorted to
this means in his dispute with the people of Ascoli. The mandate
included meticulous instructions: the chamberlain of the principality
of Salerno was to be appointed as president, after both parties had
been summoned the *rationes* should be set forth on both sides, and
Tancred would then decide 'what shall be just and rational [. . .] so
that our court does not then hear any further justified complaint'.[76]

Titles and concepts of lordship

The title that a ruler used in his charters, where he acted in his
own person (or at least was described as so doing) expressed his con-
cept of lordship, both how he saw himself and how others saw him.
In any event, lords undoubtedly used the presentation and reading
of charters as an occasion for the legitimisation and public justification
of their power and rule. The Normans of southern Italy faced a
unique situation, in which an ethnic title no longer reflected political

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[72] Kehr (1902), 456–7 no. 30 = Enzensberger (1971), register no. 158: a dispute
of Bishop Stephen of Patti with a royal chaplain Master Benedict (October 1188).
Cf. Enzensberger (1980), 419.

[73] *Konstitutionen Friedrichs* II, 294, *Liber Augustalis*, 63. Dilcher (1975), 423–4.

[74] It was recorded in a judgement in favour of the abbey of Montecassino, with
regard to certain tenements at Pontecorvo, in February 1167, that: 'Once the case
is concluded, it is necessary to make a written record, so that, when the judgement
has disappeared from the memory of men, reading the document will make it clear',
E. Gattula, *Accessiones ad Historiam Abbatiae Casinensis* (Venice 1734), 262–4.

[75] Dilcher (1975), 128, 510–12.

[76] *Les Chartes de Troia (Cod. Dipl. Pugliese*, xxi), 302–8 no. 102, at p. 303.

reality. On the one hand they were relatively few in number, and since they drew on people from other parts of Europe as well, those who had settled could not be entirely subsumed under the label of 'Norman'.[77] On the other hand they were the rulers over other peoples in southern Italy who from the outset were not completely excluded from a share in power. But a simple overall term such as ruler 'of the Lombards' could provide no solution either, although if need be a double title like that used in Anglo-Norman England might have fitted the bill. Here the protocol used by the papal chancery clearly exercised an influence. In the oath sworn by Robert Guiscard to Nicholas II in 1059 he was called 'by the grace of God and St. Peter, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and with the help of both in future of Sicily'.[78] Thereafter the territorial description, 'Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily', was an integral part of the Norman ducal title, used between 1060 and 1076, although one should note that the number of surviving charters from this period is small, and most of them are of doubtful authenticity.[79] From 1076 the tripartite title disappeared, which I assume to have been clever political move on the part of the ruler and of his notary Urso, so as not to be limited by his title during the expansion of his power into the Campania. The threefold form of the title was used once again in the oath to Gregory VII in 1080; from the papal point of view this was understandable, but in his own charters Robert Guiscard was from now on described simply as *dux*, without any territorial specification.

Guiscard had previously been searching for a generalised title description. In the years 1079–80 we find him described as 'Duke of the Normans, Salernitans, Amalfitans, Sorrentini, Apulians, Calabrians and Sicilians'.[80] We have to thank a notary who was undoubtedly of Lombard origin for this, but this long title was not used thereafter, presumably because it was regarded as impracticable. The ducal chancery changed its policy, and for the time being the use of a specific title was abandoned. This did not fundamentally change under his successors. What was introduced, in 1086, was the stress on the legitimisation of Roger Borsa as *ducis filius*.[81]

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[77] See especially Loud (1981) for discussion.
[78] See below, p. 000.
[79] Ménager, *Recueil*, nos. 8–22, 25.
[80] *Ibid.*, 95–7 no. 27, 105–8 no. 33.
[81] *Ibid.*, nos. 49–54, 57, 59–62.

Then, after the first bout of the succession dispute with Bohemond in 1088, there was the claim that he was the *heres et filius* to his specifically named predecessor.[82] Whether this phraseology should be seen as an allusion to the New Testament needs further investigation. It is possible that the writer of this phrase had in mind the story of the expulsion of Hagar and her son *(Genesis, xxi.9–21)*—the servant's son should not be heir alongside the son of a free woman, something recalled by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians *(iv.30)*. This was, to a certain extent, linked with the relations between Duke Roger, son of Sichelgaita, and Bohemond, son of Alberada, who had been repudiated in 1058, to stress the greater worth of Roger's claim to be heir. It was also a reference to the fact that in Paul's Epistles the phrase *filius et heres* was used to give thanks for Christ's kinship with God, which the Apostle also understood to render Christ as co-heir. So far as I can see, the stress in theoretical writings which deal with the title in particular relation to the acclamation contributes nothing to the elucidation of this question. The emphasis on hereditary right, which was conferred by designation on the part of the predecessor, was later also included in the agreement with the Roman Church in the Treaty of Benevento between Adrian IV and William I. From this time onwards the Sicilian royal title at last attained its definitive form, which remained still in use under the Angevins. This descriptive element was integrated into the administrative unity of the later royal period. The formal element of Sicilian royal charters, in which the territorial make-up of the kingdom was conspicuous, was the *intitulatio*, the wording of which showed its final form in the time of Roger II from 1136 onwards: *rex Sicilie, ducatus Apulie et principatus Capue.*[83]

This form of the title is undoubtedly to be seen as a political compromise. However, it was not a product of the agreement with Innocent II at Ceprano in 1139, but rather a previous concession by Roger II to make general recognition of his kingdom easier once it became clear that Anacletus II was going to be defeated in the papal schism and that Lothar III would actively intervene in Italy.[84] If it is also to be seen as a genuine expression of Roger II's con-

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[82] E.g. *Le Pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari (1075–1194)*, 22 no. 11.

[83] First found in Roger II, *Diplomata*, 119–23 no. 43. See Kehr (1902), 246–57, Brühl (1978), 80–3, Enzensberger (1992), 108–9. Under Frederick II the inscription on the seal was shortened simply to *rex Sicilie*.

[84] Zielinski (1982).

cept of kingship, that under the umbrella of a royal title centred on
Sicily—the only precedent for which was that Roger in his early
years and his father had been Counts of Sicily—the 'historical ter-
ritories' of Apulia and Calabria remained as recognisable entities,
then nevertheless they were unequivocally declared to be inferior
lordships subject to the king of Sicily. In addition, Roger gave Apulia
and Capua to his elder sons Roger and Anfusus, while he granted
his later successor William the title of Prince of Taranto, and his
sons were often witnesses to his charters.[85] Roger had already in
1127 given expression to the territorial structure of the kingdom,
while at the same time keeping a reminder that the foundation of
his power was as count of Sicily, with the title, *dux Apulie, Sicilie et
Calabrie comes*. From 1128 this was altered, in the Apulian tradition,
to *dux Apulie, Rogerii magnifici comes heres et filius*.[86] One should of course
remember that the introduction of this hereditary right into the ducal
title by Roger Borsa can be seen as a response to challenges to his
rule. Just as he faced opposition from Bohemond and Roger I, so
Roger II had to overcome the opposition of Honorius II to his suc-
cession in Apulia. This legitimisation by hereditary right had already
been used in the *intitulatio* of the treaty with Savona in May 1128,
before Roger received investiture from the pope; once the kingdom
had been at least provisionally consolidated, this element in the for-
mulation of the eventual royal title was then abandoned (although
later international treaties under William I and William II do make
some reference to the hereditary nature of the kingdom and the
king's designation of his successor). At the end of 1129 the epithet
Christianorum adiutor et clipeus ('helper and shield of the Christians') was
introduced. This was used in the early Latin versions of the royal
title, and remained part of Roger's Greek title, in the form τῶν χρισ-
τιανῶν βοηθός ('helper of the Christians') right up until his death.[87]
In his privilege of 27th September 1130 Anacletus II granted Roger
the crown of the kingdom of Sicily, Calabria and Apulia; conse-
quently the title in the earliest surviving royal charter, issued to the
monastery of Cava in February 1131, reads *dei gratia Sicilie, Apulie et*

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[85] One should on the other hand ascribe no real significance to the grant by
William I of the ducal title to his son Roger, then still a minor, after 1156. However,
Tancred's son Roger, named in dating clauses as Duke of Apulia after May 1191,
and co-king from September 1192, may be seen as an active political factor.
[86] Roger II, *Diplomata*, 35–8 no. 12.
[87] *Ibid.*, 40–2 no. 14. Brühl (1983), 67–8, Enzensberger (1992), 108–9.

Calabrie rex, adiutor Christianorum et clypeus, Rogerii magni comitis heres et filius. At the end of 1131 the formula *Sicilie et Italie rex* was introduced.[88] The introduction of this phraseology seems to be the work of the notary Wido, about whose origin we know nothing, but who, from both the internal and external characteristics of the charters he wrote, would appear to have drawn heavily on mainland, and more precisely Campanian, models. If comparison is made with the *intitulatii* used in private charters, which Wido drew upon, this suggests that he may perhaps have come from the Salerno region. The use of the term *Italia* to denote the south of the peninsula came from Byzantine Greek, but it was used just as frequently in the Campania and Apulia. Whether the use of *Italia* by the Norman kings was conceived only in this limited territorial sense, or whether (if circumstances were favourable) wider ambitions might lie concealed within it, must remain open. Indeed, in Rome, and above all north of the Alps, this title could be interpreted as embodying a claim to rule over the whole of Italy. Roger was thus certainly well-advised to abandon this title, and to introduce a form which showed to outsiders rather an understanding of the territorial structure of the kingdom as it had evolved historically. One should therefore ask how far these theoretical concepts corresponded to real administrative practices. One finds that in the dating clauses of diplomas additions could be made to the royal title used as part of the regnal years formula, whereby adjectives like *gloriosissimus* and *magnificentissimus* (using the superlative) preceded the king's name. The royal title was also expanded in the dating clauses of private charters, although even at the end of the twelfth century this varied from region to region, and a number of older forms survived. Hence *Sicilie et Italiae rex* was used in the Salerno region, but also at Troia and in a number of places in the Terra di Bari, while one can still find the Apulian *heres et filius* phraseology in the charters of local notaries under William II.[89]

The territorial definition of rule was a new development among European kings in the twelfth century. The Emperor of the Romans (*imperator Romanorum*) was to survive long after the Middle Ages. England and France were only to arrive at a territorial definition of the royal title in the early thirteenth century, for although King Stephen (1135–54), a contemporary of Roger II, was in a few cases

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[88] Enzensberger (1992a), 107–8. Cava charter: Roger II, *Diplomata*, 45–8 no. 16.
[89] Enzensberger (1992a), 107.

styled as *rex Anglie* rather than the more usual *rex Anglorum*, this new development appears not to have been generally accepted.[90] However, in southern Italy the descriptive form of a territorial title was nothing new. The passage from an ethnic title to a territorial one had already taken place under the Lombard princes of Benevento, and in addition the titles of the Byzantine provincial administration were, following the late Antique tradition, undoubtedly territorial ones. Here one also needs to discuss the Greek royal titles of Roger II, which did not employ any territorial boundaries. These Greek titles also appeared on Latin charters in the form of the king's Greek sign manual. This can be explained both because it took account of the importance of the Greek linguistic group (as can also be seen from the number of Greek charters for Latin recipients in what were overwhelmingly Greek-speaking areas), and that it revealed political ambitions that extended beyond Sicily and the south Italian mainland. But notwithstanding any imperial ambitions which may have been entertained, the Greek regnal title could have no impact upon relations with the western emperor or the pope, for there were very few people in Germany, or elsewhere in the west, who could read or understand Greek. Roger was prepared for dispute, or even conflict, on this issue with the emperor in Constantinople.

Another exceptional circumstance in the formulation of the royal title was the mention of the Queen-mother Margaret (*una cum matre*) in the diplomas and mandates of William II. However, this formula was not introduced immediately after his accession. The earliest clearly authentic document to survive from William's chancery dates from December 1166, and does not employ the phrase in question. Its modern editor has suggested that this is forged, but the grant of land *ad laborandum* that the document embodies is a common one, the diplomatic is unexceptionable, and the handwriting of the notary, Sanctorus, argues against this being a forgery.[91] One must therefore seek some other explanation as to why the mention of the queen-dowager is missing.

It should be remembered that the regency of Queen Margaret was not otherwise noted in documents drawn up by the chancery, and that apart from the *una cum matre* phrase no other alteration was

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[90] Enzensberger (1992a), 109–10.

[91] *Carte latine di abbazie calabresi provenienti dall'Archivio Aldobrandini*, ed. A. Pratesi, Vatican City 1958, 58–60 no. 22. Enzensberger (1971), 54.

made to the customary formula of the *intitulatio*. The formal dating
of the December 1166 charter was ascribed to Richard, Bishop-elect
of Syracuse and the 'master notary' Matthew, both of whom were
described as *familiares*. William I had on his deathbed given both of
them a crucial role in the regency council as advisers to the queen,
as we learn from both the chronicle attributed to Romuald of Salerno
and 'Hugo Falcandus'.[92] The latter indeed suggests that together they
'exercised the office of chancellor'.[93] It was thus quite logical that they
came to appear in this diploma, while Margaret was not mentioned.

The introduction of the *una cum matre* phrase could also have been
connected to the attempts by the queen to remove the counsellors
of William I and to increase her own influence, which culminated
in her summons to her cousin Stephen of Perche, who was appointed
chancellor and elected as Archbishop of Palermo. However, the ear-
liest secure evidence for Stephen's chancellorship comes after the first
appearance of the *una cum matre* formula in the *intitulatio*. A charter
issued by the *familares* in March 1167, also written by Sanctorus,
shows that Stephen of Perche was at that point not playing any role
at the court in Palermo.[94] It was also at this time, on 15th March
1167, that the law concerning the administration of vacant bishoprics
was issued, on behalf of the archbishopric of Trani, which was the
first document to contain the *una cum matre* phrase.[95] However, this
is in mandate form, and so it names no datary, and furthermore
has been transmitted only by a copy. One cannot therefore be cer-
tain that the introduction of this phrase was a direct innovation by
Stephen; it could also have been a last attempt by his predecessors
to accommodate the queen and to avoid unfavourable consequences
for themselves—all in vain.

We step onto firmer ground with a diploma for the archbishopric
of Salerno of August 1167, which survives in the original, and in
which the chancellor Stephen was named as datary.[96] The notary

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[92] *Falcandus*, 88, *Romuald*, 253 [*Tyrants*, 137, 238]. Enzensberger (1981), 121.

[93] *Falcandus*, 108–9 [*Tyrants*, 158].

[94] *Tabularium Regiae ac Imperialis Capellae Collegiatae Divi Petri in Regio Panormitano Palatio*, ed. A. Garofolo, Palermo 1835, no. 24.

[95] *Le Carte che si conservano nell'Archivio del Capitolo metropolitano della città di Trani (dal IX secolo fino all'anno 1266*, ed. A. Prologo, Trani 1877, 128–9 no. 57 [Behring, *Regesten*, no. 157].

[96] Salerno, Archivio diocesano, Mensa Archiepiscopalis, *Arca* I no. 71, published in *Memorie per servire alla storia della chiesa Salernitana*, ed. G. Paesano, 4 vols., Salerno 1846–57, ii.175–6 [Behring, *Regesten*, no. 160].

responsible, who may well be considered the stylistic originator of the *una cum matre* phrase, was John, the first principal notary of William II, from whom all the royal diplomas attributable to the years 1167/8 stem.[97] John came from Salerno, as did Matthew, perhaps belonged to his following, and the use of this phrase continued after the fall of Stephen in the early summer of 1168. This can be seen as another argument against Stephen as its originator. The phrase disappeared from the documents from April 1172 onwards, when William II reached his majority. An identical clause was however used during the brief reign of William III, in 1194.

Rhetorical themes

Ideas about the rights and duties of the ruler were expressed at some length in the *arengae* of documents. Hence one theme of the charters of the dukes of Apulia was the derivation of their rule from God, although its expression was relatively commonplace, and without much variation. Such statements were more sophisticated under Roger II, although the rhetorical statements from his father's time are in general to be found in suspect documents, and thus should be left to one side. The range of such pronouncements expanded under his successors, although certain themes recurred. However, can a stronger individualisation of *arengae* be observed in particular case studies, and is there any comparison between the main text of charters and the themes in the *arenga*?

We shall look at these matters first of all in the chancery of the dukes of Apulia, where the corpus of *arengae* can be traced back primarily to one compiler, whose models were re-used right through to the end of the independent duchy. From 1079 onwards the notary or protonotary Urso composed a small number of standard *arengae* which set out the expectation that gifts to the Church would be recompensed with heavenly benefits.[98] Models from Normandy had no part to play here; ducal charters there usually lacked an *arenga*. The first type, beginning *Nos ab omnium*, was unmistakably copied from Lombard models to be found in Salerno.[99] The beliefs of the per-

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[97] Enzensberger (1982), 31.
[98] Enzensberger (1990), 70–2.
[99] Voigt (1902), 35.

son granting the charter were therein expressed, that he would receive appropriate reward (*dignas mercedes*) for his alms to churches (*sanctis et venerabilis locis*) and that the wishes of those who looked after them would be generously fulfilled.[100]

Urso also reworked Lombard models in the *arenga* beginning *Nostras ad Deum*, which he used for the first time in September 1079. This outlined how consideration of the prayers of subjects (*fideles*) worked to the benefit of rulers and that these subjects should provide willing service and obedience.[101] Modified, shortened forms can be found under Roger Borsa, used for clerical recipients, while longer variations occur with the Counts of Caiazzo, and once under Roger II.[102] From 1080 Urso showed a preference for the view that the more the ruler used his power to exalt and protect the Church (or churches), then the more he could reckon upon Divine assistance. This *arenga, Si divinum cultum*, continued in regular use by the other notaries in the ducal chancery, and occurs once under William I, probably copied from an earlier charter.[103] However, the thought expressed by the notary John, in a diploma for the archbishop of Salerno in October 1080, that the protection and confirmation of ecclesiastical rights was an act of justice and enhanced the fortunes of the state, did not find imitation.[104] The concept of *res publica* was not unique though, and can be found in other charters of Robert Guiscard.

Another *arenga, Et antiqua traditio*, ought not to be claimed as one used by the chancery of Duke Robert, since it only occurs in two Bari charters, dated 1082 and February 1085, both of which are blatant forgeries.[105] The student of documents may find this unfor-

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[100] Urso gave almost identical expression to these thoughts in a participle construction *Credentes nos*, in which the *arenga* could be tied syntactically to the beginning of the *dispositio* clause. This varient did not last. Urso's successor Grimoald returned to *Nos ab omnium*, which remained as the standard *arenga* of the Apulian ducal chancery. *Loca venerabilia* can be found in the standard *arenga* under Roger II, *Si iuste postulatio*, but under William I in only two charters, *William I Diplomata*, 67 no. 24, and 89 no. 33. It occurred eight times under William II (Behring, *Regesten*, nos. 177, 215, 226, 230, 232, and Enzensberger (1971), register nos. 109, 124 and 139).

[101] Ménager, *Recueil*, 97 no. 28.

[102] *Roger II Diplomata*, 152–3 no. 55, cf. Enzensberger (1990), 71.

[103] 'tanto nos superna pietas protegat gratius quanto ferventius suam ecclesiam pro viribus exaltare atque tueri satagimus', Ménager, *Recueil*, 109 no. 34, 114 no. 36, 117 no. 37 (all October 1080), 123 no. 39 (May 1081), and 133–4 no. 42 (October 1082), by Urso, as well as 171 no. 47 (March 1086), 173 no. 48 (early 1086), 175–6 no. 49 (May 1086) by other notaries. Cf. Enzensberger (1971), 93–4.

[104] 'Iustitiam facimus et rem publicam tunc augemus', Ménager, *Recueil*, 111 no. 35.

[105] Ménager, *Recueil*, 129–33 no. 41, 146–50 no. 45.

tunate, because a model is given here for the introduction into charters of concepts of *antiqua traditio, ratio* and *puplica utilitas*. Similar ideas
are found once more in the twelfth century, especially in the juridically formulated *arengae* of William II's notary Alexander, who juxtaposed *utilitas regia* and *utilitas ecclesiarum*.[106] One can also note that
the first traces of the Cursus and prose-rhythms can be found even
in these early *arengae*. Later on, under the kings, these were developed into highly polished formulations.[107]

Protection and alms for the Church remained an enduring theme,
with which other expectations became linked. The spectrum widened,
especially in the treatment of justice, for which the notary Matthew
(the later vice-chancellor and chancellor) paraphrased the Proverbs
of Solomon.[108] It is possible that this reflects the philosophical and
theological discussions at the court of Palermo, in which the later
cardinal, Laborans, was a participant.[109] Matthew also composed a
political 'victory manifesto' which is contained in the first section of
the Treaty of Benevento, whereby the humility of the victor at the
moment of his triumph becomes the foundation for hopes of greater
victories and successes, while in the second paragraph the king's victory over the Greeks in Apulia is described (this was also the theme
of the triumphal *arenga* of a contemporary royal charter for the archbishopric of Brindisi).[110] One could indeed make the assumption that
what was really being expressed in this introduction to the treaty
was the (quite correct) opinion of the king that without his military
successes Adrian IV would not have been prepared to surrender and
conclude the concordat. Hence this *arenga* has a very definite, if not
overtly expressed, purpose as an introduction to the document.
Matthew used the grant of a house in Messina to the church of
Palermo to insert a declaration of love for Archbishop Hugh and
his church, and recalled therein the coronation of the king in the
cathedral. The king was also particularly generous towards this church
since it was a close neighbour of his 'sacred palace'.[111] By contrast,

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[106] Kehr (1902), 442–4 no. 23, at p. 443 [Enzensberger (1971), register no. 118],
for Montecassino (January 1176).
[107] Enzensberger (1971), 95–6.
[108] *William I Diplomata*, 100 no. 22, from *Proverbs* viii.15.
[109] Enzensberger (1989a), 397–8.
[110] The treaty: *William I Diplomata*, 34–5 no. 12 [English translation, *Tyrants*, 248],
Brindisi charter: *William I Diplomata*, 42–4 no. 15.
[111] *William I Diplomata*, 72–4 no. 27.

the transfer of a house in Palermo to the church of Messina in January 1159 was, strictly speaking, a concealed sale. That the person of Bishop Robert was not placed so strikingly in the foreground as was Archbishop Hugh was connected with the fact that the diploma was part of the process that led to the renewed recognition of Messina as an archbishopric—something which was finally granted to Robert's successor Nicholas in 1166. For in the text of the document Robert was indeed described as archbishop.[112]

The *arenga* in a mandate of William II to the townspeople of Messina, beginning *Certum est*, should be understood as a commentary on Vatican Assizes 18.i and 35, in that it treats an attack upon the *familiares* of the king as equivalent to an attack on the king himself.[113] Among the juridical statements of the notary Alexander was the conclusion that the validity of contracts was dependent upon their being drawn up in the legally prescribed form, but they were especially binding if they had also received royal confirmation.[114] The issue of legal privileges for the archbishopric of Palermo in 1177 leads to the conclusion that while indeed all the churches of the kingdom enjoyed the privilege of judging crimes by the clergy and jurisdiction over adultery, Palermo was especially distinguished since this church lay in the royal capital, 'in which the throne and seat of our majesty resides'. The 'cherished minister' (*familiaris affectus*), with whom the king felt a strong tie as with Palermo, is surely an allusion to the role of Archbishop Walter in the college of *familiares*.[115] The ecclesiastical foundation at Monreale would, so Alexander suggests, serve William II, in that he would provide for the monastery from his surplus of worldly goods, and by doing so amass an imperishable treasure in Heaven, that neither rust nor moths could harm.[116] The same notary emphasised the sacramental character of the marriage bond (*vinculum coniugale*) in the charter conveying dower rights to Queen Joanna, but also recalled the *iuris forma* and the necessity of consent of both husband and wife.[117] These examples may have demonstrated that rhetorical themes were often composed for very specific reasons, but generally applicable models also played an impor-

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[112] *William I Diplomata*, 68–70 no. 25. For this issue, see below, p. 175.
[113] Behring, *Regesten*, no. 165, cf. Monti (1945), 128–9, 150, Schmink (1970), 35.
[114] Enzensberger (1971), register no. 148.
[115] Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.109 [Behring, *Regesten*, no. 182].
[116] *Documenti inediti*, 176 no. 73 [Behring, *Regesten*, no. 201]
[117] Behring, *Regesten*, no. 203.

tant role in the writing of *arengae* in the Sicilian chancery during the second half of the twelfth century, as they did also for the papal chancery, and later in the Sicily of Frederick II.

The validity of charters

Royal charters do not contain any discussion of the internal dynamic of royal actions, nor do the *arengae* from the time of Roger II's edict of revocation provide any theoretical analysis of the validity of royal charters; they describe only the events involved in the presentation and confirmation of a document by the king.[118] Naturally this process did implicitly pose question marks against the validity of older documents. Admittedly, such confirmations by later rulers were a widespread feature of European documentation of this period, but there is still no generally agreed view about its legal background. Such revocations also occurred in the Sicilian kingdom under both Henry VI and Frederick II. The latter established the unlimited validity of royal charters in his Assizes of Capua—by this he meant that of his own documents from then onwards. However, this provision was not included in the Constitutions of Melfi and cautionary clauses were increasingly added to his documents, in which he reserved a right of revocation. That in the later part of the Norman period the king deemed his written decisions to be binding upon himself was seen by some jurists as being derived from the surviving record of discussions before a regional royal court. It was axiomatic that the king himself was bound by his own ordinances and laws; because he invested his confirmations with such authority, and he had the power to pass legislation and repeal it (and here the jurists drew on Vatican Assize 27), and because he included himself in a general privilege (*rex in generali privilegio se includere*); all this applied so long as he did not include a corresponding reservation.[119] In fact these early jurisdictional privileges appear not to have contained a saving clause of the *salvo mandato et ordine nostra* type, that we do indeed find under Kings William I and II, as is also the case in a very similar fashion under Barbarossa, and above all as appears so frequently under Frederick II a little while after the promulgation of the Assizes of

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[118] Kehr (1902), 69, 111, Brühl (1978a), 54–5.
[119] Enzensberger (1981), 129, Enzensberger (1989a), 408–9; and cf. Monti (1945), 137–9.

Capua in December 1220.[120] It was perhaps in the light of experience that the chancery later was more insistent on the necessity of inserting such clauses.[121]

One exceptional measure was the annulment of a charter in which the name of a traitor appeared. The provision in the Constitutions of Melfi (II.27) dates back to King William, but it was also seen as a valid enactment under Frederick II.[122]

Diplomatic formulae and the sealing clause

The naming of the scribe in the charters of the Norman dukes of Apulia was something else adopted from the practice of Lombard *scriptoria*, for it was not usual in Normandy. What happened in Apulia also became the custom for the diplomas of the Norman kings, and allows us some insight into the personnel staffing the chancery.[123] However, the notary's name was not included in mandates, which occur more frequently in the second half of the twelfth century.[124]

The first example from the ducal chancery can be found in July 1079: 'we have instructed you, Urso, our notary, to write the text of this our grant' (*Textum vero huius nostre concessionis scribere precepimus tibi Ursoni nostro notario*).[125] This formula was then followed by Peter and Grimoald, who generally provided a more structured discussion of legal transactions. This was not only intended as a stylistic variation, but rather as a refinement of legal terminology; something which has not previously been the subject of systematic analysis. As Protonotary from June 1080, Urso used the formula *Testamentum itaque huius* [. . .] and to this he added a notably unspecific sealing clause, which was not very skilfully formulated and was thus not going to survive for long.[126] The sealing clause became standardised under Roger Borsa in the 1090s, usually in the form 'and we have ordered

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[120] Baaken (1981), Enzensberger (1985), 54. For the Assizes of Capua, *Ryccardi di S. Germano Notarii Chronica*, ed. C.A. Garufi, RIS, 2nd Series, Bologna 1938, 88–93.

[121] Enzensberger (1987), 187.

[122] *Konstitutionen Friedrich II*, 331–2, *Liber Augustalis*, 87. Enzensberger (1981), 110.

[123] Enzensberger (1971), 39–74.

[124] Only two mandates survive in the original, which makes the identification of individual notaries difficult, but in addition mandates generally lack the rhetorical elements.

[125] Ménager, *Recueil*, 96 no. 27, cf. *ibid.*, nos. 28 and 34.

[126] E.g. Ménager, *Recueil*, nos. 33, 36–9.

it to be sealed with a lead seal with our image' (*et nostro cum tipario plumbea bulla insigniri iussimus*). The lead seal remained the norm, as it did in the royal chancery. Mandates appear to have carried wax seals, but not until the reign of the Empress Constance does more than one example survive.

Seals, handwriting and other marks of authenticity

The international image that was expressed in the ruler's title was also of importance in another respect—in the representation of the lord on the seal. The use of metal seals (*bullae*) by the Normans was partly an adaptation by the new state of a practice known from the charters of Byzantine officials; it also drew on a number of other precedents. Lead seals were used on papal documents, and the Normans derived their political legitimacy from the popes, even if their mutual relations were not always particularly harmonious. (Another borrowing from papal precedent was the application of a Rota to royal diplomas).[127] The representation of the ruler on the seals of Roger II drew unambiguously on the imitation of the *Basileus* in Constantinople.[128] This was a significant propagandist measure, not only because a not insignificant number of the Norman kingdom's population were Greeks, but furthermore it embodied a claim to equality of rank, and one suspects that a hypothetical aim of Norman policy in the Balkans was the displacement of the Byzantine emperor by the king of Sicily. Indeed, the policy of intervention on the opposite shore of the Adriatic, initiated by Robert Guiscard and revived by Roger II and William II, could have had lasting results. When the Byzantine Empire and its capital actually fell before the attack of the Fourth Crusade, no member of the house of Hauteville was there any longer to be able to further the old plans of his forefathers. However, the imitation of the *basileus* was limited to the time of Roger II, his successors had the full-length depiction of the ruler on Byzantine models replaced by a half-length portrait bust, indicating that later on there was a slackening of these Balkan ambitions. Also noteworthy is the relatively large number of gold bulls—for especially distinguished recipients—executed in giant format. Their

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[127] Enzensberger (1971), 77–86, Brühl (1978a), 69–75.
[128] Enzensberger (1971), 89–90, Houben (1999), 153–5.

use, like that of all the other forms of seal, was announced in the *corroboratio*, and thus it is possible to ascertain when they were employed, even in cases where we have only a written record. But the normal practice for privileges was to use the lead seal, while mandates used the western format wax seal.[129] However, this does not necessarily mean that the mandate as a type of document must stem from western European precedents (one thinks here, for example, of Anglo-Saxon writs), more probable was the imitation of Byzantine *prostagma* and papal letters, especially when one considers the role of Greek officials in Sicily.

The Greek signature of Roger II, which is to be found on some of his diplomas, particularly those whose content was of special importance, was for a long time regarded as his autograph, but is now considered to be the work of other hands.[130] This was undoubtedly another imitation of Byzantine practice—there too not all these signatures were actually done by the emperor himself, others were signed in his name and on his instructions by one of his functionaries. The phraseology of the signature clause was only loosely based on the precedent of imperial charters. Here also may not only have been a claim for the future, but above all the replacement of earlier structures of rule and administration played a part.

There has been frequent discussion as to what was the language of the majority of the south Italian population, and above all the one which is reflected in the charters.[131] This has clearly shown that the choice of which language was used in a document was determined far less by the speech of the recipient than by the context in which it had to be used. The extracts from the Sicilian cadastral surveys with their long lists of villeins were in Arabic. However, it is clear that the number of documents written in Latin was growing during the second half of the twelfth century, although this may also be connected with the increasing number of 'Latin' recipients at this period.[132] The importance of the Greek monasteries, which

[129] Enzensberger (1971), 91–2.

[130] Falkenhausen (1998), xx.

[131] Kehr (1902), 239–43, Reichenkron (1957), Alessio (1959), Rohlfs (1964), Enzensberger (1971), 33–8, 65, Varvaro (1973a), Varvaro (1973b), Falkenhausen (1980a), Falkenhausen (1981), and Falkenhausen's chapter in this volume, which represents the last word on the subject.

[132] Enzensberger (1995), 57–8, and on the Arabic documents, De Simone (1988). Our picture (at least on the island) may be distorted by the large number of charters, most of which survive in the original, derived from the abbey, and later arch-

is apparent in the time of Roger II, declined under his successors, even though another Greek congregation based around Carbone, was created under William II.[133]

In private charters variations of the local cursive 'Beneventan' script dominated the field, although the chancery of the Norman dukes employed the Caroline minuscule with which they were familiar, despite the fact that they were served by scribes who were almost all natives. The early form of this script used by the notaries Peter and Grimoald had the appearance of a charter minuscule, adapted with emphasised vertical strokes embellished by loops. Peter and Grimoald also resumed the Salernitan tradition of writing the *Invocatio* (and sometimes also the name of the person granting the document) in extra-large script. Grimoald was not using real capitals; he was rather employing a mixture of capitals and small letters (notably minuscule d and a). Similar forms appeared in the early royal charters, although later on the extra-large script was characterised by capitals, which showed numerous decorative flourishes.

Conclusion

The classic form of document continued to be the diploma with its grant of property or rights, and later on, in the time of the Norman kingdom, this was still by far the most usual type of charter; but in addition the conveyance of the ruler's written orders in the form of the mandate was developed and grew in importance.[134] Apart from jurisdictional mandates, clearly the most frequent type, there were also other matters which led to messages from the king conveyed in mandates. Quite a few were generated by royal involvement in ecclesiastical affairs such as episcopal and abbatial elections.[135] Instead of grants of property, there were often instructions to make payments from royal revenues, that may have been linked with some changes in economic orientation.[136] Exemption from dues such as pasturage

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bishopric, of Monreale, founded by William II; for which see the calendar by Garufi, *Catalogo Illustrato del Tabulario di S. Maria Nuova di Monreale* (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.19, 1902).

[133] However, although the popes were on many occasions involved in the affairs of Greek churches, they used exclusively Latin documents.

[134] Enzensberger (1971), 98–100.

[135] Enzensberger (1980), 402–12.

[136] Enzensberger (1981), 134, 137–8.

or customs levies, or a franchise for a favoured property, were con-
veyed through a mandate to the relevant official—and because they
were so much handled these documents suffered a lot of wear and
tear. Directives about landholding were issued via mandates, as were
inquiries about boundaries, to be conducted by justiciars, and orders
concerning fugitive serfs from the royal demesne. Mandates of a
fiscal character were also frequent, a tendency which grew ever
stronger under Frederick II.

It was very characteristic of the Norman chanceries that they suc-
ceeded in utilising older models to create something new. Through
the delegation of duties and power by means of written instructions,
but also through the development of record keeping which allowed
the supervision of law, obligations owed and the grant of fiefs, the
Sicilian kings and their privy counsellors found a way to build a
state out of the lordships of Norman adventurers, one that became
the richest and most advanced kingdom of the twelfth century.

THE PAPACY AND THE RULERS OF
SOUTHERN ITALY, 1058–1198

Graham A. Loud

In November 1198 Pope Innocent III issued two privileges to the
Empress Constance, queen-regnant of Sicily, and her infant son
Frederick. One concerned the status of the kingdom as a papal fief,
the other dealt more specifically with the proper procedure to be
followed in episcopal elections. Each document had a very similar
arenga in which the pope outlined his view of the special relation-
ship that the kingdom of Sicily had with the see of St. Peter. The
second of these two privileges read as follows:

> It seems neither new nor unjust if we grant special grace to the king-
> dom of Sicily, because among all the various regions in which the
> Christian name is honoured it has remained almost always more active
> and devoted to the service of the Roman Church and [thus] deserves
> to be especially honoured by it. Indeed, its kings and princes have up
> to now been firm in their fealty to the Apostolic See and have adhered
> closely and faithfully to it, so that they have acted energetically to exalt
> it and no storm could tear them away from it. Believing themselves
> to be exalted in it and through it, after God they placed their hopes
> in it and [made it] the foundation of their good fortune.

Innocent went on to praise her father, King Roger, and his two suc-
cessors, her brother William I and his son William II, 'who remained
loyal to our predecessors, no less in adversity than in prosperity'.[1]

Such sentiments were of course rhetorical, and not necessarily
entirely accurate in their perception of past relations between the
papacy and its Sicilian vassal. These privileges were in fact intended
to put an end to a period of some difficulty between Rome and the
rulers of the kingdom of Sicily, for relations between the two had
been strained ever since the conquest of the kingdom by Constance's
husband, the Emperor Henry VI, in the summer and autumn of 1194.
Not only had the papacy done its best, albeit covertly, to prevent
that conquest and the consequent, and to its eyes very threatening,

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[1] *Die Register Innocenz' III. 1 Pontifikatsjahr 1198/9*, ed. O. Hageneder & A. Haidacher
(Graz/Cologne 1964), 616–18 no. 411 [also published Kehr (1905), 59–61 no. 14].

union of Sicily and the German empire, but the new rulers had refused to recognise the concessions on a number of ecclesiastical issues made by their rival and predecessor King Tancred at the Treaty of Gravina in June 1192.[2] In their eyes Tancred was a usurper—his coronation, according to Staufen propaganda, 'a new type of fraud'.[3] Grants made by him were *ipso facto* invalid and void. By sanctioning the traditional royal right of assent to episcopal elections, albeit while ostensibly trying to preserve canonical norms, Innocent was himself making a concession, and the elaborate introduction to his privilege was, at least in part, a means of saving face.

Nevertheless, this was by no means the only expression of this favourable view of papal relations with Sicily during the later twelfth century. The *Liber Pontificalis*, for example, recorded on the death of William I that he had been 'a faithful and devoted son of the Roman Church'.[4] While Alexander III could write to William II complaining of unchecked lay encroachment on Church property and interference in appointments (although primarily in one diocese), he held up to the king the good example of his parents, 'who were so feared for the strict enforcement of righteousness, to which they were devoted'.[5] Once again there was an element of rhetoric here—to spur the king into correcting such abuses. But there was also a strong element of truth, for the kingdom of Sicily had been the closest and most important ally of the papacy during the later twelfth century, and the (albeit cautious) support for King Tancred by Clement III and Celestine III was precisely because they valued this alliance, and wished to retain it in order to ensure the papacy's freedom of action, above all against imperial pretensions.

Yet the long-term relationship between the papacy and the Norman rulers of southern Italy was complex, and by no means so smooth as later pronouncements suggested. If Cardinal Boso praised William I after his death, he had earlier criticised him as one who had 'insolently raised up his horn against his mother and lady, the most holy Roman Church'.[6] Nor was the behaviour of the Sicilian rulers towards

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[2] For Constance's marriage, see Baaken (1972), for the Treaty of Gravina, note 101 below.

[3] Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, ed. G.B. Siragusa (FSI, Rome 1906), 17, line 182.

[4] *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne (3 vols., Paris 1886–1957), ii.414.

[5] Holtzmann (1958), 22–3 no. 158.

[6] *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.389 [English translation, *Tyrants*, 244].

the Church in their dominions universally admired. We have seen that Alexander III could be critical of William II, albeit more for his perceived slackness in overseeing that Church than for any oppression towards it. Other commentators were less charitable. The influential and well-connected English cleric John of Salisbury wrote to Pope Alexander c. 1167/8 warning him against taking 'the evil practices of the Sicilians and Hungarians' as a model for Church-state relations.[7] Peter of Blois, who had personal experience of Sicily, denounced William II as 'a miserable youth [who] has on the advice of sinners laid greedy hands on the treasures of the Church'.[8] And yet Sicily, like Hungary, was a kingdom that was not just bound by the universal requirement on all Christians to show obedience and reverence to the pope as the head of the universal Church, but was more specifically bound to him as a papal fief whose ruler was a vassal of St. Peter. Indeed, some commentators have suggested that it was differences over this subordination that made relations between the south Italian rulers and the papacy so problematic, at least until the Treaty of Benevento between William I and Pope Adrian IV in June 1156.

The commencement of this relationship went back to long before the creation of the kingdom of Sicily. It began with the investiture of the greatest of the Norman conquerors in southern Italy, Robert Guiscard, as Duke of Apulia, Calabria and Sicily by Nicholas II at a council held at Melfi in southern Apulia in August 1059. In return for the legitimisation of his present and future conquests Robert swore an oath of fealty to the pope, and pledged as a sign of this formal dependence to pay an annual census to the papacy. The other principal Norman ruler in the south, Richard I, Prince of Capua, swore an identical oath to Alexander II in the autumn of 1061; although he may already have received investiture with his principality from the Roman archdeacon Hildebrand (the future Gregory VII) in the spring of 1059.[9] The significance of this relationship with the papacy, and the (at least theoretical) subordination of the Norman rulers to the see of St. Peter, has been much debated.

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[7] *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. H.E. Butler, W.J. Millor & C.N.L. Brooke (2 vols., London/Oxford 1955–79), ii.376–7 no. 219.

[8] MPL ccvii.27–30 no. 10, at col. 28.

[9] *Le Liber Censuum de l'Église Romaine*, ed. P. Fabre & L. Duchesne (3 vols., Paris 1889–1952), i.422, ii.93–4. Loud (2000a), 186–94.

Certainly their power and authority within southern Italy did not depend upon it. Robert Guiscard was already ruler of most of the south Italian mainland by 1059; he remained in control despite a long dispute with Gregory VII during which he was excommunicated from Lent 1074 until summer 1080. By contrast, Richard of Capua had in 1059 only recently displaced his Lombard predecessor, and was not yet securely in control of his principality. Despite the papal recognition, it still took him several years to achieve full and secure rule over that principality.[10] And for all the significance that later historians have attached to the investiture of 1059, only two of the contemporary chroniclers of southern Italy bothered to mention it; other writers connected Guiscard's assumption of the ducal title with the acclamation of his army after the capture of Reggio Calabria from the Byzantines—probably in the spring of 1060.[11] The use of this title, one perhaps derived from that used by Byzantine provincial governors, may therefore have seemed to contemporaries in the region to have been legitimised rather by military success than by papal appointment—a circumstance not dissimilar to that of the German ruler Otto I a century earlier, who was—so we are told by his panegyricist Widukind of Korvey—acclaimed as emperor by his army after his great victory over the Magyars at the Battle of the Lechfeld in 955, some seven years before his formal coronation by the pope at Rome.[12]

The reasons why Nicholas II should have reversed previous papal hostility to the south Italian Normans, and have sanctioned their conquests, were essentially pragmatic. By 1059 the Normans were clearly in southern Italy to stay; papal investiture was therefore a recognition of reality. Furthermore the reform party, which was as yet far from secure in its hold over the see of St. Peter, was in desperate need of military support, facing as it did a rival pontiff supported by the Roman nobility. The Normans could provide this; indeed in 1059 they were the only possible source of such support.

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[10] Loud (1985), 38–41.
[11] The Melfi investiture, *W. Apulia*, II lines 400–5, p. 154. By contrast, *Amatus*, IV.3, p. 184, and *Malaterra*, I.35, pp. 23–4, mention only the acclamation at Reggio, while the *Chronicon Amalphitanum*, in Schwarz (1978), 212, cites both this and the papal investiture. See Loud (2000a), 190–1.
[12] *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvey*, ed. P. Hirsch (MGH SRG, 5th ed., Hanover 1935), III.48, pp. 128–9.

The key clauses in the oaths of fealty sworn by the Norman leaders were those promising to support the pope in holding his see *secure et honorifice* and to assist 'the better cardinals, Roman clergy and laymen', i.e. the reform party, in the election of a new pontiff after the death of the present one.[13] By contrast, what was never made clear, either in 1059 or later, was by what right the papacy treated southern Italy as a fief with which it could invest the Norman leaders.

There were a number of possible justifications or precedents which may have been implicit in the investiture of 1059. The reformers at Rome undoubtedly knew of the so-called 'Donation of Constantine', conferring imperial authority and wide-ranging temporal claims upon the papacy. The use of a banner in this and subsequent investiture ceremonies was directly taken from imperial practice, well attested in eleventh- and twelfth-century Germany.[14] It has also been suggested that Charlemagne's grant of authority over the duchy of Benevento to Adrian I in 774 and subsequent imperial confirmations of this privilege lay behind eleventh-century papal claims.[15] Furthermore in the very recent past, in the early 1050s, Leo IX had acted as the emperor's representative in ruling over the city of Benevento—which for a brief period from 1051 to 1054 had been effectively a papal-imperial condominium.[16] That perhaps some similar arrangement for the duchy of Apulia was viewed as a possibility is suggested by the clause in Guiscard's oath in which he said that 'I shall swear fealty to no one except with the reservation of my fealty to the Holy Roman Church' (*nulli iurabo fidelitatem nisi salva fidelitate sancta Romane ecclesie*). If the emperor was not expressly mentioned here, it is hard to think who else can have been envisaged, and in 1073 Richard I of Capua did indeed pledge, in his oath of loyalty to the new pope, Gregory VII, only to swear fealty to Henry IV, who was mentioned

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[13] Loud (2000a), 188–9, including a translation of the full text of the oath.

[14] For the banner, Deér (1972), 13–36, and for a general discussion of the 'legal' basis for papal claims, *ibid.*, 51–106. The principal contemporary evidence is the Amalfi Chronicle [above note 11]. Examples of the use of a banner as an instrument of investiture by the German emperors include *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, ed. R. Holtzmann (MGH SRG, Berlin 1935), V.21, pp. 245–6, and *Gesta Friderici I Imperatoris*, ed. B. von Simson (MGH SRG, Hanover 1912), II.55, p. 160. See also the twelfth-century illustration to the *Rolandslied*, in Bloch (1961), plate V.

[15] Chalandon (1907), i.171–2, Deér (1972), 59–60. Cf. here the *Liber Pontificalis*, i.498.

[16] Vehse (1930–1), 93–9.

by name 'when I shall be advised [to do so] by you or your suc-
cessors and saving my fealty to the Roman Church'. Indeed, some
historians have gone so far as to suggest that in 1059 Nicholas II
saw himself as representing the emperor. Given that Henry IV was
then a minor, and that direct imperial intervention in Italy was
unlikely for some years, the pope had to take the initiative.[17] This
might also explain the use of the banner as the symbol with which
the investiture was performed.

Yet while such ideas may well have informed papal thinking,
they were never made explicit—except that we can see from the
early oaths of fealty by the Norman leaders that there was no inten-
tion before the crisis of papal-imperial relations in 1075–6 of directly
excluding traditional imperial authority over southern Italy. Insofar
as precedents were ever cited for papal claims to overlordship over
temporal principalities—and the south Italian rulers were not the
only ones whom contemporary popes considered to be their vas-
sals—they were almost always couched in very vague terms, as for
example when Gregory VII laid claim to *ius et proprietas* over the
Iberian peninsula. In 1073 he alleged that 'the kingdom of Spain
belonged from ancient times to St. Peter in full sovereignty', and in
1077 that it 'was given by ancient constitutions to Blessed Peter and
the Holy Roman Church in right and ownership'. Yet in both
instances the precise nature of this ancient title was left unspecified.[18]
The only occasion when a pope referred expressly to the Donation
of Constantine in a south Italian context was in a bull taking the
abbey of St. Bartholomew of Lipari under Apostolic protection in
1092; here the section of the Donation cited was that relating to the
islands of the Mediterranean.[19] Yet this was never quoted with regard
to Sicily, even though Count Roger I had often close and amicable
relations with the papacy, as for example when Urban II visited him
in Sicily in the autumn of 1089 to discuss means of cementing closer
relations with the Byzantine Church, he was never viewed as a direct

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[17] Gregory VII, *Reg.* I.21a, pp. 35–6. Kehr (1934), 15–19, Clementi (1968), 191–2,
Deér (1972), 87–90, Robinson (1990), 376–7.
[18] Gregory VII, *Reg.* I.7, IV.28, pp. 11–12, 347–8. Cowdrey (1998), 640–5. I am
grateful to Dr. John Wreglesworth for a helpful discussion about Spain and the papacy.
[19] *Italia Pontificia*, x.359 no. 1. Deér (1972), 62–3. D'Alessandro (1978), 130–2, is
very critical of the idea that the 'Donation' was of any significance in 1059. For
the evidence of papal use of the 'Donation' in a more general context, Robinson
(1990), 309–10.

papal vassal. Any juridical or vassalic link was rather with his over-lord, the Duke of Apulia.[20]

One should also note that it was unlikely, certainly after papal relations with the western empire collapsed in 1076, that there would have been any overt reference to earlier imperial concessions, even to justify a purely temporal overlordship. If Nicholas II saw himself as in some sense representing the emperor—and this is by no means certain—it is clear that Gregory VII did not. How could supreme papal authority which Gregory, in particular, so stressed be in any respect derived from grants from a lay power, and especially from the predecessors of a ruler whose conduct the pope was endeav-ouring to correct, whose obedience he was determined to secure, and whose own right to rule he was challenging?

Two further aspects of this problem need to be considered. First, it was perfectly possible for direct papal overlordship to come about through the deliberate action of a ruler voluntarily submitting to a pope, without there necessarily being any overt precedent, although once such a submission had taken place it was of course itself a precedent for the future. This was, for example, the case with the kingdom of Hungary, where papal claims of overlordship were based on the submission of King Stephen to the Roman see c. 1000.[21] And while there were, as suggested above, precedents for papal rule over Benevento, the direct ownership of that town by the Apostolic see (and it was to remain as a papal enclave within the kingdom of Sicily right through until 1860) stemmed from the voluntary sub-mission and fealty of its last prince, Landulf VI, to Gregory VII when the latter visited Benevento in August 1073.[22] In that sense, what was important about the fealty and investiture of Robert Guiscard and Richard of Capua was that they *chose* to become papal vassals, rather than any possible theoretical basis the papacy might have had for a claim to overlordship. It was in these terms that, according to Amatus of Montecassino (writing very soon after the event), Robert Guiscard rejected the German ruler's offer to invest him with south-ern Italy in 1076.

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[20] *Malaterra*, IV.13, pp. 92–3. Caravale (1966), 27–8, Deér (1972), 167. Gregory VII's claims over Corsica and Sardinia were similarly never expressly grounded on the 'Donation', Cowdrey (1998), 643–5.

[21] Cowdrey (1998), 645, cf. Gregory VII, *Reg.*, II.13, pp. 144–6.

[22] Gregory VII, *Reg.*, I.18a, p. 30. For the background to this, Vehse (1930–1), 99–107.

> Because I have had the help of God, and Saints Peter and Paul, to whom all the world is subject, have prayed to God on my behalf, I willingly submit myself to their vicar, the pope, with all the land that I have conquered. I wish to receive this from the pope so that the power of God can guard me from the malice of the Saracens and overcome the pride of foreigners.[23]

Secondly, the agreement of 1059 was just that: a treaty embodying advantages for both sides. For the Norman leaders it brought recognition and legitimacy to regimes which had hitherto been based solely on conquest. To the pope and the reform party which he led, it brought much needed military support, the prospect of bringing peace to southern Italy and of much greater involvement than hitherto in the affairs of the south Italian Church (deemed greatly to need reform, reorganisation and renewal), as well as the opportunity to recover the island of Sicily for the Christian faith. This last was something expressly envisaged at Melfi, for in both his oath of fealty and in his pledge to pay tribute to the papacy Robert Guiscard described himself as 'by the grace of God and St. Peter, Duke of Apulia, Calabria, and in future with the help of both, of Sicily'.[24] The agreement of 1059, and that concluded, or renewed, with Richard of Capua in 1061, was cast in so-called 'feudal' form, because those were the juridical terms which contemporaries understood; but in practice these agreements were much more treaties between equals than the Normans' recognition that they were in any meaningful sense subordinate to, or reliant upon, the papacy.[25]

It was of course by no means axiomatic that, if the Norman rulers saw their relationship with the papacy in this light, therefore the popes did so too. Indeed, it has been suggested, on the basis of changes in the wording of the later oaths of fealty sworn to Gregory VII by Richard of Capua in 1073 and Guiscard in 1080, that the pope was anxious to lay greater stress on the conditional element of papal grants than hitherto, that the popes were under no obligation to renew the investiture of the Norman rulers, and that if they felt the rulers to be unsuitable they might well choose not to do so. The dichotomy between this papal view of the temporary and renewable nature of their concession, and the Normans' concept of their out-

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[23] *Amatus*, VII.27, pp. 320–1.
[24] *Liber Censuum*, i.422.
[25] Loud (2000a), 188–93, 207–9.

right ownership of, and hereditary right to, their lands, explains (so this theory suggests) the problems and tensions inherent in the relationship, which were exacerbated by the creation of the Sicilian kingship in 1130.[26]

Yet the evidence for such a fundamental conflict of political ideas is by no means conclusive. It was indeed customary for the south Italian Norman rulers to renew their fealty (and presumably to receive investiture, even if the sources do not expressly state this) to each new pope. The papacy clearly regarded its overlordship over southern Italy as significant: Paschal II insisted that the Emperor Henry V swear to respect the various principalities there as part of the *regalia et patrimonia* of St. Peter during the negotiations to settle the Investiture dispute in 1111.[27] But if the actual ceremony of investiture by the pope was so important, why might it sometimes be delayed for several years after the accession of a new pope and/or Norman ruler? We have no direct evidence that Alexander II granted investiture to Robert Guiscard at all, although later papal documents alleged that he had. But if he did, it was almost certainly in the summer of 1067, six years after he became pope, for that would appear to have been the only occasion on which he and Duke Robert can have met.[28] Robert's grandson, William, had similarly already been Duke of Apulia for three and a half years before Paschal II invested him with the duchy at Ceprano in October 1114.[29] William was relatively young when his father died early in 1111, but he was then thirteen or fourteen, and we have no indication that he was ever considered a minor, which might explain such a delay—but in any case certainly not one until he was seventeen. (Gregory VII had anyway offered to invest Roger Borsa as duke when the latter was about thirteen in 1073, on the false report of his father's death).[30] In addition, one cannot explain the delay before Duke William received investiture as being due to any physical impossibility, for

[26] Deér (1972), *passim*, but especially 164–202, Robinson (1990), 368–73.

[27] G.D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, xxi (Paris 1903), 56.

[28] Gregory VII, *Reg.* VIII.1b, pp. 515–16. Loud (2000a), 196, 208, 238–9.

[29] *Falco*, 24, *Chron. Cas.* IV.49, p. 516, *Romuald*, 207.

[30] *Amatus* VII.8, p. 298. *Romuald*, 204 (here based on a contemporary source) recorded simply that William succeeded his father, whereas with Bohemond II of Taranto, who was much younger when his father died, his mother's rule as regent was mentioned. William's earliest surviving genuine charters date from early in 1113; in these he appears to have been ruling without supervision, *Cod. Dipl. Amalfitano*, i.190–3 nos. 114–15, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.192–3.

Pope Paschal travelled to southern Italy early in 1113 and held a synod at Benevento.[31] His investiture of the duke was still delayed for another eighteen months.

Furthermore, after 1080 the evidence for the fealty and investiture of the princes of Capua is exiguous. Its absence cannot simply be explained away by such suppositions as that Prince Jordan I had become the emperor's vassal in 1082 (although he did do this), or that his son Richard II acknowledged the overlordship of the duke of Apulia in return for the latter's help in recovering his capital in 1098, and that such new bonds cancelled out any earlier tie to the papacy.[32] Jordan's fealty to Henry IV was a dead letter once he submitted to Robert Guiscard in the later part of 1083, and he played a crucial role in the election of Abbot Desiderius of Montecassino as pope and the latter's enthronement in Rome in 1086–7.[33] In 1098 Urban II was actually present at the siege of Capua, so whatever dependence the prince entered into vis-à-vis Duke Roger Borsa must have been with his approval.[34] We do know that Robert I of Capua, as well as Duke William of Apulia, swore fealty to Gelasius II at Gaeta in March 1118, although the sources which mention this do not refer to any investiture.[35] We know too that Pope Honorius II was present at the anointing of Prince Robert II at New Year 1128, although the actual ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of Capua. The detailed account of Falco of Benevento, probably written quite soon after the event, and based on eye-witness testimony, recorded that the prince swore fealty (although the version of the oath which he gave was probably a paraphrase), but made no mention of his being invested by the pope with his principality.[36] However, we cannot therefore assume that such investiture did not happen, for it seems clear that the princes of Capua remained as papal vassals to the same extent that their ancestors had been in the eleventh century. The obligation to aid and defend the pope was still recognised. Robert I aided Paschal II in his attempts to enforce his authority in

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[31] *Falco*, 6.

[32] Deér (1972), 141–3, Hoffmann (1978), 167–72.

[33] *W. Apulia*, V lines 119–20, p. 242. *Chron. Cas.* III.65–8, pp. 447–51. Cowdrey (1983), 187–213. Jordan's relationship with the papacy was rightly stressed by Kehr (1934), 32–3, although his supposition that Urban II may have invested the prince in 1089 cannot be proved. Kehr was however in error to suggest that there were thereafter no ties between Capua and the papacy.

[34] *Malaterra*, IV.27, p. 106.

[35] *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.315, *Chron. Cas.* IV.64, p. 526.

[36] *Falco*, 90, 96.

the southern part of the papal Campagna in 1108–9. In 1110, when the Emperor Henry V was known to be preparing an expedition to Rome, the pope secured pledges from both the prince and the duke of Apulia to assist him, and in the next year Robert I did indeed send a force of 300 knights to his aid, even if in the event this contribution was too small to help the pope effectively. In 1118 Gelasius II took refuge for some time in the principality before going to France. While he was there he also sought military aid from Robert I, as well as from the Duke of Apulia, to counter another imperial expedition to Rome.[37] That we have no direct evidence for papal investiture of the princes of Capua after 1080 does not therefore suggest that this did not happen. Later sources such as the chronicle attributed to Archbishop Romuald II of Salerno may have omitted mention of such ceremonies because of their perceived irrelevance once the principality of Capua had been incorporated into the unified kingdom of Sicily. But the failure of contemporaries to mention these ceremonies was more probably because they considered them to be relatively routine, and not to be of great constitutive significance.

Nor does it appear that the papacy attached such significance to the investiture as scholars such as Josef Deér have argued. Gregory VII referred to Robert Guiscard as 'duke', even while he was excommunicated, and even though he had not yet received investiture at his hands—although he had earlier from Nicholas II and (almost certainly) from Alexander II. Indeed, whereas Gregory argued that the excommunication of Henry IV of Germany invalidated the latter's right to rule, he never stated this about Robert Guiscard, despite the length of time that he remained excommunicate (from 1074 until 1080). And whatever allegedly conditional element may have been added to the oaths of fealty sworn by the Norman rulers, the papacy seems in practice to have considered their lordships to have been hereditary. As we have seen, when Guiscard was believed to have died in 1073, Pope Gregory immediately offered to invest his son, and given the latter's youth—and that Guiscard had only very recently suppressed a serious rebellion—such an offer was of real political value in validating Roger Borsa's title. (In this case, unlike the other instances cited above, speed was of the essence).[38] But the most important evidence in this respect comes with Urban II's ecclesiastical

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[37] *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.299–300, 315, *Chron. Cas.*, IV.35, 39, pp. 500, 507, *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix.282. Loud (1985), 99–100.

[38] Loud (2000a), 197–8, 202, 207–9.

concessions to the Count of Sicily in 1098, in which extended comital powers over the Church on the island were granted not just to Roger I but also to his eldest son Simon and to 'any other legitimate heir that shall be left to you'.[39] If a pope was prepared to make these concessions on an hereditary basis, it is surely perverse to maintain that the south Italian lordships were considered to be held as papal fiefs on a precarious and revocable tenure.

The only suggestion that such a view might in fact have been the case relates to the duchy of Apulia immediately after the death of the childless Duke William in July 1127, and to papal relations with the new king of Sicily after the schism of 1130. In both these cases what dictated the policy pursued was not legal concepts but political circumstances and expediency, and the tensions created by the bitter and prolonged division within the western Church by the crisis of 1130.

In 1127 Pope Honorius II resolutely opposed the claims of Count Roger II of Sicily to succeed his cousin as duke, both by hereditary right and by express designation in the latter's lifetime (the latter probably in 1122).[40] But he did this not to vindicate any abstract concept of papal lordship, but specifically to oppose the succession of Count Roger, whose attitude towards the Church the papacy had good grounds to mistrust. That Roger was a collateral rather than a direct heir gave him the opportunity to do this, but in addition by 1127 the papacy itself was changing, as was the balance of power in its relationship toward southern Italy.

This last point is an important one. For as long as the Investiture Contest continued, and the hold of the papacy over Rome and the surrounding region remained fragile, it was clearly important to retain friendship with, and the help of, the south Italian Normans. Their assistance might not be sufficient to repel a full-scale imperial expedition, but it was none the less useful, for example in repressing the often unruly nobility of the papal Campagna. In addition, in 1101 a Norman army led by Duke Roger Borsa besieged Benevento, not as Guiscard had done in 1077 to attempt the conquest of the town, but in alliance with Paschal II to force the inhabitants to accept direct papal rule.[41] Above all, southern Italy could provide a refuge

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[39] *Malaterra*, IV.29, p. 108.
[40] Referred to by *Romuald*, 212–13; for the date, Deér (1972), 175–6.
[41] *Annales Beneventani*, in Bertolini (1923), 151. Vehse (1930–1), 115.

when Rome and its environs were unsafe. Urban II spent about a third of his pontificate in southern Italy, his presence there being especially marked in the early years. Paschal II also made frequent visits to the region, and if the focus of his attention was Benevento (where he stayed on eight occasions during his pontificate), his travels extended more widely, including visits to Salerno in 1100 (which was when he probably renewed the investiture to Roger Borsa), Calabria in the summer of 1101, Capua in December 1108, and the ducal town of Troia in Apulia in 1115, where he held a council.[42] The concerns of Urban and Paschal were not just political; they were also active in re-organising the provincial and diocesan structure of the south Italian Church and especially by reconciling the conflicting claims of local archbishops. To this end, and to further local ecclesiastical reform, a number of cardinals were appointed to south Italian archbishoprics: Rangerius of S. Susanna to the see of Reggio in 1091, Albert of S. Sabina to Siponto in 1100, Landulf of S. Lorenzo in Lucina to Benevento in 1108, and Romuald of S. Maria in Via Lata to Salerno in 1121.[43] The popes also helped to support the increasingly embattled authority of the dukes of Apulia, not least by the proclamation of the Truce of God, at councils held at Melfi in 1089, and at Troia in 1093, 1115 and 1120.[44] At the same time their own authority benefited from the help of south Italian churchmen; there were ten south Italian archbishops present at the Roman council of 1112, at which both Archbishop Sennes of Capua and Archbishop Roger of Reggio took a prominent role, and nine at the election of Gelasius II as pope at Gaeta in January 1118.[45] While those cardinals appointed to south Italian sees were (except perhaps for Rangerius of Reggio, who accompanied Urban II to France in 1095) no longer considered as members of the college after their transfer, clerics from southern Italy played an important role in the college of cardinals. Monks from Montecassino were especially prominent. Abbot Desiderius (1058–87) was a cardinal from soon after his election, and became pope in 1086. Abbot Oderisius I (1087–1105) had been a cardinal deacon since 1059, and was promoted cardinal

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[42] Urban: Houben (1996), 120–33. Paschal: *Italia Pontificia*, viii.26–9, Loud (1985), 102–3.

[43] Ganzer (1963), 45–9, 55–7, 63–6, 72–4, Hüls (1977), 181, 203, 207–9, 238. For the popes and the south Italian Church, Loud (2000a), 227–33.

[44] *Italia Pontificia*, viii.23 no. 71, 24 no. 76, 29 no. 101, 32 no. 113.

[45] MGH *Constitutiones*, i.570–3 no. 399, at p. 572. *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.314–15.

priest in 1088. Another Cassinese monk, John of Gaeta, was papal chancellor from 1089 until his own election as pope in 1118. The monastery's historian Leo Marsicanus was Cardinal Bishop of Ostia from 1102/7 (the exact date is uncertain) until his death in 1115. Bishop Bruno of Segni, who from the 1080s onwards was considered to be one of the cardinal bishops, was Abbot of Montecassino, in plurality, from 1107 to 1111, while Oderisius of Sangro, abbot from 1123–6, had been a cardinal deacon from 1113. A former Cassinese monk, Abbot Amicus of St. Vincent on Volturno, was made a cardinal priest in 1117. In addition, another abbot from southern Italy, John of the Holy Saviour, Telese, was Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum from 1100 to 1119, and Henry, former Dean of Mazara in Sicily was cardinal deacon of S. Teodoro in 1118.[46]

But from 1120 onwards this situation was changing. Calixtus II and Honorius II were much more securely in control of Rome than their predecessors, and were determined to enforce their authority in the papal lands and over Benevento—where this led to an uprising and the murder of the papal rector there in 1128.[47] They were also anxious to supervise the local church more closely, especially in the principality of Capua, which since it lay immediately to the south of papal territory was obviously the most promising area for such action to be effective. They did this increasingly without reference to the lay rulers. The deposition of Abbot Oderisius II of Montecassino in 1126, that of his successor Nicholas a year later, and the forcible installation of a pro-papal abbot, Seniorectus, were obvious examples of this action. Several of the most prominent members of the college of cardinals were involved in the coercion of Montecassino in 1126/7, including Gregory, Cardinal deacon of Sant'Angelo, the future Innocent II.[48] But these were not the only occasions when cardinals were despatched from Rome to take a hand in the affairs of the Capuan church; thus in 1125 an agreement between the Bishops of Aversa and Acerra was concluded in the presence of two cardinals, as well as three of their fellow bishops.[49] Such involvement

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[46] *Chron. Cas.*, III.12, 14, pp. 376, 378; IV.42, p. 511. Ganzer (1963), 43–5, 57–62, 69–71, Hüls (1977), 105, 141, 231–2, 242.

[47] Partner (1972), 159–68. For Benevento, Vehse (1930–1), 128–37; the rector's murder, *Falco*, 102.

[48] *Chron. Cas.*, IV.86, 88–9, 93–5, pp. 547–51, 553–6. Discussion in Hoffmann (1971), 74–95, Stroll (1987), 55–64; for Montecassino at this period, Loud (1985), 123–35.

[49] Codice Vaticano Latino, 12937 [actually a file of separate charters], document no. 1.

by cardinals in the routine affairs of the local church was a new development. At the same time prelates from both the principality and other parts of southern Italy attended the pope at Rome on a more regular basis than hitherto.[50]

In addition, the relationship between the papacy and the south Italian rulers was becoming less equal. From 1118 onwards the popes secured oaths of fealty, not just from the duke and prince, but also from other leading south Italian nobles. Thus in 1120 three powerful counts, Rainulf of Caiazzo, Jordan of Ariano and Robert II of Loritello, all of them by this stage virtually independent of their nominal superiors, became papal vassals.[51] This was a recognition of how far princely and ducal power had declined, rather than a deliberate attempt to undermine it; Duke William also swore fealty at Benevento in October 1120, and was present when the pope promulgated the Truce of God at Troia less than a month later. But it showed how the papacy was taking the lead in its relationship with southern Italy, in a way that had not been the case in the eleventh century.

While this active, indeed more aggressive, policy was being pursued on a number of fronts, the south Italian role in the cardinalate was diminishing. The scope and significance of changes in the college after c. 1121 have been disputed, but it is clear that its composition was altered, with the majority of new appointments coming from northern Italy, and to a lesser extent France. Only one south Italian became a cardinal in the 1120s, the Salernitan John Dauferius, appointed Cardinal deacon of S. Nicola in Carcere in 1123. Montecassino was very definitely out of favour, especially with Honorius II. The trigger to these changes was the heavy mortality among the cardinals during Calixtus II's journey to Calabria in the autumn of 1121, the main purpose of which was to mediate between Roger II of Sicily and Duke William, and to deflect the former's attacks on the duke. In this he was notably unsuccessful, for as Pandulf's contemporary biography of Calixtus recorded, 'with the pope [*himself*] half-dead, Count Roger did as he liked'.[52]

This was one of a number of instances where the papacy had good reason to be displeased with, and in consequence distrustful

[50] Partner (1972), 163–4, Loud (1985), 108.

[51] *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.322.

[52] *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.323. For John Dauferius, Zenker (1964), 110–11, Hüls (1977), 240–1, and for the changes in the Curia, Stroll (1987), 102–10, Robinson (1990), 48–9, who summarise and discuss (in English) the voluminous previous literature.

of, the Count of Sicily. At the Council of Ceprano in 1114 there was a complaint about his forcible removal of the Archbishop of Cosenza from his see.[53] In 1117 Paschal II addressed a stiff rebuke to him for exceeding those powers over the Church which Urban had granted to his father.

> Learn from those around you the example set by good rulers, that you try not to harm churches but to help them, not to judge or oppress bishops but to venerate them as vicars of God. What was given to the Church by your father of noble memory, Count Roger, should not be diminished by you, but rather increased.[54]

So when Duke William died in 1127, not only was the papacy already taking a more forceful line towards southern Italy than hitherto, and the Curia was less under south Italian influence than before, but the pope had little reason to welcome the unification of much of southern Italy under Roger II's rule. Falco of Benevento gives what purports to be a *verbatim* speech of Honorius II, directed against Roger, delivered at the inauguration of Robert II of Capua at New Year 1128. Falco was probably not there himself, but he was writing very soon after the event and claimed to have been informed by eyewitnesses. What was notable about this speech was that it contained nothing about papal rights of overlordship; rather it concentrated on the dangers inherent in Roger's rule, including the threat to papal control over Benevento, and to the local nobility from Roger's authoritarian rule.

> He menaces all of you who have lordship over towns and power over *castra* [. . .] he will take away from each of you the fortresses and citadels in which you trust, and dispose of your life as he wishes.[55]

This may, of course, represent Falco's own views as much as those of the pope, and even if the reporting was in the main accurate, this was after all a recruiting speech to the laity, and was intended to appeal to their concerns. But it does suggest that there were practical rather than ideological reasons why Honorius II refused investiture to Count Roger—even though, according to Falco, he had been offered substantial inducements to do so. We should give far more credence to such factors than to any supposed clash of concepts of

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[53] *Chron. Cas.*, IV.49, p. 516.
[54] *Liber Censuum*, ii.125–6.
[55] *Falco*, 94.

the fief, and probably to the otherwise unsubstantiated tale recorded
by the Flemish cleric Walter of Thérouanne that Duke William had
on his deathbed bequeathed his lands to the pope.[56] The real argu-
ment against Count Roger was his 'suitability', as shown by his recent
record vis-à-vis the Church.

Nevertheless, the papal attitude in 1127/8 still raises one impor-
tant and unanswered question. Had Honorius been successful, what
did he intend to do with the duchy of Apulia? Falco's account, which
although detailed is our only source for these events, makes no men-
tion of any rival candidate for the ducal title. A decade later Innocent
II and the Emperor Lothar invested Count Rainulf of Caiazzo with
the duchy, but that was after his *de facto* leadership of the anti-
Rogerian coalition in southern Italy had been vindicated by five
years of civil war. Did the pope intend rather to rely on the fealty
of a number of different nobles, taking the oaths of fealty sworn to
his predecessors in 1118–20 as a model? Falco's account suggests
that this was the case, although his wording is somewhat ambiguous.[57]
But would direct papal lordship over the Apulian nobility have been
feasible as more than the most temporary expedient? It would have
been most unlikely to enhance the law and order which earlier papal
proclamations of the Truce of God had been designed to promote.

In the end Pope Honorius's efforts to oppose Roger were unsuc-
cessful, his local support collapsed, and he was forced to concede
the duchy to the Count of Sicily. That, and the submission of the
prince of Capua to the new duke in 1129, something which Honorius
had been anxious to prevent, was the precursor to the creation of
the kingdom of Sicily in 1130, validated by Pope Anacletus II. But
however much this sanction was dressed-up in the latter's bull as a
reward for one 'to whom Divine providence has granted greater wis-
dom and power than the rest of the Italian princes [*and who*] has
tried splendidly to honour our predecessors and serve them gener-
ously', it was primarily a *quid pro quo* for Roger's support for Anacletus

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[56] *Vita Karoli Comitis Flandriae*, MGH SS xii.539–40. See Deér (1972), 175–83,
Loud (1985), 136–43, for differing interpretations.

[57] *Falco*, 96: 'Robert, the new prince, stood up and promised in front of all thus:
"venerable father, I commit both my person, which you see, and the power of my
whole principality, which you have given to me, to your command, that they shall
all lie subject to your rule". Count Rainulf and many other nobles and bishops
who were assembled there promised similarly'. For the 1137 investiture, *Falco*, 190,
Romuald, 225–6.

against his rival in the schism, Innocent II.[58] In 1130, when Anacletus was in control of Rome and support for Innocent in northern Europe was by no means assured, this must have seemed the natural continuation of the earlier, mutually beneficial, relationship of 1059 and thereafter. But by c. 1135/6, when Anacletus was clearly losing the battle within the Church, it was an embarrassment, as shown by the complete omission of Anacletus from Alexander of Telese's propagandist biography of the king, written at that time. It has also been suggested that Alexander's account, stressing the (fictional) historical claims of Sicily to the status of a kingdom, Roger's election by a (carefully stage-managed) assembly of notables at Salerno, and the Divine sanction that his rule possessed, reflects how the king himself wished to be seen.[59] Yet when, with the schism ended in 1139 and Innocent II at his mercy, what Roger sought was papal recognition and investiture, reluctantly granted at Mignano in July 1139. The bull in which Innocent, as *de novo*, created the kingdom, for of course no previous action by Anacletus could be seen as valid, cited as precedents the examples of Robert Guiscard and Count Roger I, the latter both for his defeat of the infidel and services to the Roman Church, the investiture by Honorius, and (surely in response to royal suggestion) 'because it is not to be doubted that Sicily was once a kingdom, as is recounted in ancient histories'. This alleged 'return to its former royal state' was also cited in Roger's foundation charter for his palace chapel in April 1140. But the 1139 bull, issued very much on Roger's terms, was an appeal to the past in another sense, to return the relationship with the papacy to the way it had been before c. 1120, but with (one should note) the hereditary nature of the new kingdom expressly stated. On the other hand the king was prepared to swear fealty and do homage, and to pay an annual census to the Roman Church in recognition of papal overlordship.[60]

That in fact relations were to be extremely difficult over the next fifteen years was very largely due to the legacy of the Anacletan

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[58] Text of the bull in Deér (1969), 62–3, and Hoffmann (1978), 173–5. Useful discussion by Stroll (1987), 65–81. For the importance which Anacletus attached to Roger's support, the best evidence is his letter to Archbishop Diego of Compostella in April 1134, MPL clxxix.723–4 no. 47.

[59] *Al. Tel.* II.1–3, pp. 23–5, and for the Divine sanction especially *ibid.*, IV.6–10, pp. 84–8. Fuiano (1956), Caravale (1966), 66–7, Cilento (1983), 166–74, Brown (1992), 199, 202–4.

[60] MPL clxxix.478–9 no. 416 = Deér (1969), 74–5 = Hoffmann (1978), 175–7. *Roger II Diplomata*, 133–7 no. 48, at p. 136.

schism. So long as those who had been involved were alive, the bit-terness remained, especially within the college of cardinals. Roger had not just owed his title to Anacletus; he also had close personal relations with the Pierleone family, for the erstwhile pope's brothers and nephews had become his vassals in June 1134, in return for a substantial annual pension from the royal treasury (a much larger payment, it should be noted, than that pledged annually to the papacy in 1130 and 1139).[61] The circumstances in which Roger had extorted the agreement of 1139 rankled. Thus Celestine II refused to confirm it, and therefore to recognise the kingdom's existence, on his election in 1143, and John of Salisbury claimed that the Curia's refusal to allow the consecration of bishops-elect in the 1140s was 'as a penalty for the capture of Innocent II'.[62] The decree of the Second Lateran Council of 1139 quashing all Anacletan ordinations posed obvious problems for the south Italian Church which had sup-ported him. Among those who were degraded from office were the Archbishops of Amalfi, Benevento, Capua and Taranto, and prob-ably also Angelus of Bari. All of these would have been subject to direct canonical confirmation by Anacletus; Rossemanus of Benevento and Philip of Taranto owed their posts directly to his appointment or influence, and he had personally consecrated John of Amalfi. A later attempt, in 1148, to restore Philip of Taranto even to priestly status was frustrated by opposition within the college of cardinals, which suggests that feelings were still very strong, a decade after the death of Anacletus.[63]

Furthermore, Innocent's principal lay ally during the schism had been the Emperor Lothar, and good relations with the empire con-tinued after the election of Conrad III in 1138. The German court remained bitterly hostile to the kingdom of Sicily, seeing its very existence on what it perceived as imperial territory as an affront. There were certainly some among the cardinals who were closely tied to imperial interests, notably Octavian of S. Nicola in Carcere (a distant relative of the Staufen and subsequently the anti-pope Victor IV) and Guido of Crema, cardinal deacon of S. Maria in Portico (Victor's successor as anti-pope in 1164). Octavian was

[61] *Roger II Diplomata*, 98–101 no. 35. Deér (1972), 218–20.
[62] *Romuald*, 227. *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. & trans. M. Chibnall (London 1956), 66.
[63] Mansi, *Concilia*, xxi.533. *Italia Pontificia*, viii.391 no. 14; ix.321 no. 12, 438 no. 11. *Falco*, 180, 190. *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 9, 43.

described by John of Salisbury as 'a sycophant of the Germans' and as 'the advocate of the Germans at the papal court'. Guido was the confidant of Conrad's minister Guibald of Stavelot in his attempts to frustrate King Roger's negotiations with the Curia in 1150.[64] By contrast, south Italian cardinals were conspicuous by their absence. Admittedly Abbot Rainald II of Montecassino (1137–66) was made a cardinal by Innocent II c. 1141, but this would appear to have been purely an honorific; he never witnessed papal bulls and can rarely have attended the papal court. Montecassino had anyway little for which to thank the king, who regarded it with disfavour, and his seizure of the abbey's treasures in 1143 may well have been a response to unauthorised contact with Rome.[65] John of Naples, appointed in 1150 at a time of *détente*, was the only other south Italian cardinal in post before the treaty of Benevento in 1156. It was therefore hardly surprising that there was a strong group within the college which remained hostile to the new Sicilian kingdom. In 1155 Adrian IV's wish to negotiate a peace was frustrated by the opposition of the cardinals, and when the Treaty of Benevento was finally concluded in the summer of 1156 the pope took the precaution of sending away all but a handful of trusted confidants before he met the king of Sicily.[66]

There were other reasons why relations were difficult in the 1140s. The annexation of Marsia by the king's sons in the early part of the decade not only involved territory to which the papacy had long laid claim—however ineffectually—but posed a potential threat to the security and communications of Rome itself.[67] When relations were poor, Roger was prepared to bring pressure to bear on both Benevento and the southern border of the papal states. A number of sources also attest to his determination to control his clergy's access to the Curia.[68] And, as another baleful legacy of the schism, there

[64] *Historia Pontificalis*, 75–7. *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, ed. P. Jaffé (Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum i, Berlin 1864), 376–8 no. 252, 400–1 no. 273.

[65] *Annales Casinenses*, MGH SS xix.310. Otto of Freising, *Chronica*, ed. A. Hofmeister (MGH SRG, Hanover 1912), VII.23, pp. 346–7. For Rainald as cardinal: Montecassino, Archivio dell'abbazia, *Aula* II *Caps*. cxxxii (fasc. ii), no. 1 (September 1141), Fabiani (1968), i.422–5 no. 3 (March 1142). Ganzer (1963), 94–7, who was however unaware of this evidence, and thus postdates Rainald's appointment.

[66] *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.394–5 [English trans., *Tyrants*, 246–7]. Robinson (1990), 50–1.

[67] Clementi (1968), 191–7.

[68] E.g. the *Chronicon Ignoti Monachi Cisterciensis Sanctae Mariae de Ferraria*, ed. A. Gaudenzi (Naples 1888), 27; *Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, 66; MGH *Constitutiones*, i.258–9 no. 187 (although this was a hostile, pro-imperial, tract).

was the reorganisation of the Church on the island of Sicily which had been validated by Anacletus in 1130/1, but rendered abortive after 1139. Since this involved, among other churches, the one that King Roger had selected for his own burial at Cefalù, it was a sensitive issue. But so it was for the papacy too. Even after Eugenius III and Roger II made peace at Ceprano in 1150, the pope flatly refused the king's request for the Archbishop of Palermo to be granted some other Sicilian bishops as his suffragans, for this would have been confirming the arrangements that Anacletus had made in his bull creating the kingdom in 1130.[69] This *impasse* created serious difficulties for the Church on the island. At Messina, which Anacletus had raised to be an archbishopric, and whose status was therefore in doubt after 1139, three successive prelates remained as unconsecrated bishops-elect.[70] At Lipari and Cefalù, the two new bishoprics sanctioned by the antipope, both based on monastic chapters, their leaders remained as *electi* (or in the case of Lipari sometimes simply as abbot) right up until 1166.[71] But the presence of an unusually large number of bishops-elect on the mainland during the 1140s suggests that John of Salisbury was not imagining a more general papal attempt to refuse consecration to the leaders of the south Italian Church.[72]

Nonetheless, relations between the kingdom of Sicily and the papacy after 1139, although often tense, were by no means universally hostile. Roger was prepared to make pacific gestures such as providing Innocent II with timber for the rebuilding of the Lateran.[73] Nor was the ban on consecrations a universal one. Innocent II personally consecrated Archbishop John II of Amalfi in 1142, and similarly Lucius II consecrated Archbishop Lupus of Brindisi in 1144. Neither of these prelates was in any sense an opponent of the king, and both

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[69] *Historia Pontificalis*, 67–8; see above note 58.
[70] *Italia Pontificia*, x.339 no. 23. Henry was *electus* in November 1137, Guirardus in 1142–3, and Arnold in February 1148, *Roger II Diplomata*, 129–31 no. 46 (at p. 131), 156–62 no. 57, 214–16 no. 75, cf. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 306, 312.
[71] White (1938), 88–97, 189–96. *Italia Pontificia*, x.357 no. 4, 364 no. 1.
[72] *Electi* are attested at Canne (1149), Chieti (1144, 1148), Cosenza (1147), Malvito (1144), Melfi (1147), Rossano (1144), Sorrento (1149), Teano (1144), Trani (1144), Trivento (1144), Troia (1145–7), and Valva (1148), on the mainland, and on Sicily at Catania (1143) and Palermo (1143–7), as well as in the sees mentioned above.
[73] John the Deacon, 'Descriptio Lateranensis Ecclesiae', in *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, ed. R. Valentini & G. Zucchetti, ii (FSI, Rome 1946), 348–9. Deér (1959), 119. Roger II was here described as *gloriosus et potens*, but it should be remembered that the text dates from the pontificate of Alexander III.

remained in office for some twenty years.[74] Indeed, the chronicle attributed to Romuald of Salerno suggested that the king greeted the news of Lucius's election joyfully, seeing him as a 'spiritual father (*compater*) and friend'. Peace negotiations were opened almost immediately upon his election, and while these were problematic and inconclusive, and the pope himself (in a letter to Abbot Peter of Cluny) commented with disapproval about Roger's attacks on the Campagna, a seven year truce was agreed in the autumn of 1144. It is also clear from his letter to Peter the Venerable that the pope would ideally have liked to have secured a permanent peace.[75] Serious negotiations for such a settlement were once again underway in 1148, and an accord was eventually concluded between King Roger and Eugenius III at Ceprano, on the border between the kingdom and the papal Campagna, in July 1150.

Such diplomacy was not conducted in isolation, and it is clear that the Curia was very conscious both of the difficult internal situation in Rome and of its relations with the German ruler and emperor-elect Conrad III. The 1148 negotiations were undertaken once the latter's participation in the Second Crusade had ensured that he would not be undertaking an Italian expedition for some considerable time to come, and that the pope could not expect his help against either the Roman commune or the king of Sicily. Eugenius III was undoubtedly looking for an accord. A clear sign of this was his privilege to Roger's court monastery of St. John of the Hermits, perhaps granted as early as the summer of 1148, in which the abbot was given the right to wear the mitre, dalmatic, ring and other quasi-episcopal vestments, and to carry a pastoral staff. A letter of the Roman Senate to Conrad III alleged that these ecclesiastical privileges had been given to the king himself, quite possibly deliberately confusing the issue, but confirming the existence of such a privilege, known otherwise only from a later forgery.[76] This was an obvious diplomatic manoeuvre to facilitate good relations with King Roger, and the pope's wish for a peace with the king of Sicily was also noted in a contemporary letter by a Roman sympa-

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[74] *Italia Pontificia*, viii.391 no. 15, *Codice Diplomatico Brindisiano* i *(492–1299)*, ed. G.M. Monti (Trani 1940), 29–32 no. 16.

[75] *Romuald*, 228. MPL clxxix.905 no. 64.

[76] *Monumenta Corbeiensia* [as note 64 above], 332–4 no. 214, reproduced by Otto of Freising in his *Gesta Friderici I* [as note 14 above], I.29, pp. 45–7. *Roger II Diplomata*, 217–23 no. †76 (probably forged c. 1250), discussed by Brühl (1983b).

thiser to the exiled prince of Capua (who would seem to have accompanied Conrad on the Crusade). Furthermore both these letters and other sources suggest that there was a party in the Roman nobility that actively supported the king of Sicily, including members of both the rival families of the Pierleone and Frangipane.[77]

Relations between Rome and the royal court were undoubtedly volatile—the reversal of Pope Eugenius's hitherto pacific policy, despite the Ceprano accord, after 1151 when Roger had his surviving son crowned without papal sanction, shows this. The pope was trying to balance the practical arguments for good relations with Sicily, as shown by his and his predecessor's attempts to negotiate a peace, with a desire not to alienate the German ruler, even though these two aims might have seemed to be mutually incompatible.[78] At the same time the papacy was very conscious of the problems it faced in ruling the city of Rome—problems which the hostility of the Sicilian king might well inflame. Combined with the division among both the cardinals and the civic élite in Rome, this placed the pontiff in an unenviable situation, and helps to explain the fluctuations in papal policy towards the kingdom of Sicily in the decade before the treaty of 1156. Thus we are told of the coronation of William I in 1151, that 'the pope took what had happened ill, but oppressed by the evils of the time he could do nothing about it'.[79] When he did eventually try to do something, with the treaty of Konstanz early in 1153, it is noteworthy that this was directed as much against the Romans as against the king of Sicily, and that it was the king of Germany who swore not to make peace with King Roger without the pope's consent, and not vice-versa—as if therefore the pope reserved the right to cut his losses and come to an agreement if the circumstances warranted it.[80]

This was exactly what Adrian IV did do in the summer of 1156, even though he had begun his pontificate by supporting an attack on the kingdom from without by the exiles headed by Robert of

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[77] *Monumenta Corbeiensia*, 228–9 no. 147, cf. *ibid.*, 334–5 no. 215, to Conrad III.

[78] Hence his letter of consolation to Conrad III after the failure of the crusade, on 24th June 1149, expressing a wish to discuss with him 'those things which pertain to the honour of Holy Church and the kingdom', *Gesta Friderici I*, I.66, pp. 94–5 (also in MPL clxxx.1393–4 no. 354).

[79] *Historia Pontificalis*, 69.

[80] MGH *Constitutiones*, i.201 no. 144; text also in Maccarone (1959), 50–1. The latter suggests that 'the clause against Roger . . . gave the pope a guarantee, without cutting off his freedom of action', *ibid.*, 65.

Capua and from within by the rebels headed by Count Robert of Loritello, and by apparently denying the legitimacy of King William's royal title.[81] Yet this was a passing phase, and one might argue that what happened in 1156 was a recognition of reality, and, as we have already noted, it was a reality which Adrian himself was prepared to face earlier if enough of the cardinals had been ready to agree. Once again, the evidence suggests that there was a split within the Curia, for after 1156 German sources suggest that there very rapidly emerged a 'Sicilian party' among the cardinals (which they blamed for the renewal of schism in 1159).[82] Adrian may have promoted some who were favourable to the treaty, but there was hardly enough time between these two events for new appointments to have significantly changed the composition of the college, and the only south Italian whom Adrian appointed in these years, Albert of Morra, came from the pope's own town of Benevento.[83] Either the treaty of 1156 led to a change of heart about the Sicilian kingdom among a number of the cardinals, or (as seems more likely) the college was divided, perhaps deeply so, before 1156.[84] The latter supposition would help to explain why, although there were clearly some cardinals who were very hostile to Sicily, papal policy after 1144 did not necessarily follow their lead.

Nevertheless the Treaty of Benevento did mark a watershed. This was not just because it secured a peace—there had, after all, already been such agreements in 1139, 1144 and 1150—although this time the accord lasted. But the 1156 treaty was not just a truce, nor a political agreement, but a comprehensive solution to almost all the problems which had since the latter's creation made relations between the papacy and the kingdom of Sicily difficult. It not only recognised the legitimacy of the royal title and the hereditary succession, but also that of the extension of the frontier northwards into the Abruzzo in the 1140s, a region which was, as Laurent Feller has suggested, an important part of royal plans for the security and defence of the new kingdom against the continuing threat from the German empire to the north.[85] Furthermore, the treaty carefully

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[81] *Romuald*, 237–41, *Liber Pontificalis*, 393 [trans. in *Tyrants*, 221–4, 245].

[82] E.g. *Gesta Friderici I*, IV.62, 79, pp. 303–4, 329. Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *De Investigatione Antichristi*, MGH *Libelli de Lite*, iii.361–2.

[83] Zenker (1964), 126. The arguments of Robinson (1990), 52–3, may be too dogmatic.

[84] Pacaut (1981), 36–8.

[85] Above, 66–70, and Feller (1998), 763–81.

delineated the extent of the royal privileges and rights over the Church which had been such a sensitive issue in the years before 1156. A set and canonical procedure for episcopal and abbatial elections was set out, albeit with the king allowed to veto the choice of any 'traitor or enemy' who might be chosen. Urban II's privilege of 1098 was confirmed, but the rights over legations and councils that it had granted were confined to the island of Sicily (as, of course, had been the case in 1098). The pope was to be permitted to send legates and to hold councils on the mainland, and papal rights of consecration, over metropolitan sees and certain exempt bishoprics and monasteries, were confirmed.[86] At the same time the suffragan sees which the archbishop of Palermo had requested unsuccessfully in 1150 were granted, and within three years the archiepiscopal pretensions of Messina had been tacitly sanctioned as well.[87] The only issue left outstanding was the anomalous position of the two Sicilian sees whose creation Anacletus had sanctioned, and which had in consequence been in limbo since 1139. The existence of the two bishoprics of Lipari and Cefalù, and their position as suffragans of Messina (as laid down in Anacletus's bull of 1131) was finally confirmed by Alexander III in the summer of 1166, shortly after he himself had visited Messina on his way home from exile in France to Rome, and at a time when the papacy was very much dependent on the military and financial support of the Sicilian court.[88]

The significance of the settlement of 1156 was undoubtedly enhanced by the long schism and the dispute with the empire which broke out after the death of Adrian IV in September 1159. For the next eighteen years the kings of Sicily and France were the chief temporal supporters of the papacy in the face of the hostile emperor, Frederick Barbarossa, and the antipopes whom he supported. Sicilian ships transported Pope Alexander back to Rome in 1165, Sicilian money supported him there—notably the 60,000 tarì given by William I on his deathbed in 1166—and Sicilian troops defended the patrimony of St. Peter against imperial excursions, in 1165 and again in 1176.[89]

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[86] Full text translated in *Tyrants*, 248–52.

[87] The see was only formally constituted as a metropolitan archbishopric in 1166, but its prelate, Robert, was already using the archiepiscopal title (and had presumably received consecration) in January 1159, *I Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, ed. R. Starrabba (Palermo 1876–90), 20–7 nos. 14–16.

[88] *Diplomi . . . di Messina*, no. 16 (as above). White (1938), 97, 196. Visit to Messina; *Romuald*, 252 [*Tyrants*, 237]. *Liber Pontificalis*, ii.413–14.

[89] *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii.116–17 no. 168. *Annales Ceccanenses*, MGH SS xix.285–6. Partner (1972), 205, 207.

Above all, Alexander III was able to take refuge at Benevento for some three and a half years after Barbarossa's capture of Rome in 1167, under the protection of the kingdom, although resident on what remained papal territory. Here indeed was the justification for Innocent III's later *encomium* for the Sicilian rulers' loyalty and support. The close links between the two courts was shown late in 1176 when negotiations finally commenced to end the schism. Alexander requested William II to send a Sicilian delegation to the proposed conference,

> for the pope was absolutely determined never to make peace with the emperor without King William being involved as a partner in the Church's making peace, for the king had been the Church's assistant and defender in its time of tribulation.[90]

Similarly, while hostilities were still continuing in 1174, William II had refused the offer of a marriage alliance from Barbarossa 'knowing that this marriage would greatly displease Pope Alexander and bring no small damage to the Roman Church'.[91]

Yet relations between the Curia and the Sicilian court remained close and amicable after 1177. In part this was a reflection of the continuance of tension, albeit no longer of outright warfare, between papacy and empire, especially in the mid-1180s; but it also reflected the continued importance of the settlement of 1156. When William II swore fealty to Clement III in 1188, he did so on condition that the agreement made between his father and Pope Adrian was observed.[92] Some papalist commentators, like the canonist Huguccio of Pisa, disapproved of the ecclesiastical privileges which had been conceded, but while William II lived there was no attempt to breach the terms agreed. Sicily was still considered 'to belong in particular to the right and ownership of St. Peter', as Alexander III pointed out to the king of France in 1163.[93] But the papacy was anxious to maintain its alliance with the Sicilian ruler, and to this end was careful not to push to their limit even those claims to which the king had agreed in 1156.[94]

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[90] *Romuald*, 269.

[91] *Romuald*, 265–6.

[92] MGH *Constitutiones*, i.591–2 no. 415.

[93] MPL cc.269 no. 211. Huguccio: Loud (1982), 151.

[94] The argument by Pacaut (1981), 51–60, that the popes were actively trying to extend their ecclesiastical authority on the mainland appears to me misguided.

This can be observed on both an ecclesiastical and a political level. At the former, for example, the popes continued to sanction the royal supervision of episcopal elections laid down in 1156. Thus in 1168/9 Alexander III told the canons of Siponto and Monte Gargano to announce the death of their archbishop to the royal court, as the preliminary to the procedure for choosing a new prelate.[95] The pope was probably more ready to do this because in practice, apart from in a few of the metropolitan sees and on the island of Sicily, the king made little effort to impose his own nominees on cathedral chapters, provided that he was notified about the election. (Apart from any other considerations, there were simply too many mainland sees to make widespread royal appointment a practical proposition).[96] In a number of cases it looks as though there was co-operation between pope and king. At Siponto in 1170 a former papal chaplain was chosen as archbishop, presumably with royal agreement, while papal sanction was undoubtedly necessary for the translation of the former royal chaplain Bishop Dionisius of Teramo, a protégé of the king's chief minister Archbishop Walter of Palermo, to the archbishopric of Amalfi between 1174 and 1176.[97] And while in 1178 Alexander reproved the king for keeping the see of Catanzaro vacant and granting its revenues to another cleric, he was careful not to infringe the king's legatine rights under the treaty; it was the latter who should tell the canons to choose a new bishop, not the pope.[98]

The major concession that the king had made in 1156 was to allow legates to enter the mainland provinces, something which Roger II had been most reluctant to permit—this was one of the accusations against him made by the Roman Senate in 1149. But in the event such legations were few and far between. 'Political' legations were of course sent to the royal court, as for example the two missions of Cardinal John of Naples in 1166 and again in 1169—here the choice of a cardinal who was a native of the *regno* was a tactful one, and John appears to have been something of a royal representative at the papal court too.[99] But legates were only very rarely

[95] *Italia Pontificia*, ix.238 no. 19.
[96] Enzensberger (1980), 402–12, Loud (1982), 154–9.
[97] *Italia Pontificia* ix.238, Kamp (1973–82), i.50–1, 391–2.
[98] *Epistolae Pontificum Romanorum Ineditae*, ed. S. Löwenfeld (Leipzig 1885), 159–60 no. 279.
[99] *Falcandus*, 95–6, 102–6, *Romuald*, 258 [*Tyrants*, 144–5, 150–4, 243]. He was also believed to be a supporter of Henry II in the Becket dispute, *Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii.606–9 no. 279.

active on the mainland and appear to have limited their activities to specific issues, usually only involving a single church. Sometimes, indeed, their involvement occurred simply because they were travelling through the kingdom on diplomatic duties, and could deal with an issue on route. Thus Bernard of Porto was returning from a mission to the royal court in November 1166 when on the pope's instructions he consecrated the high altar of the abbey of Holy Trinity at Mileto. Here the provisions of the treaty were being strictly observed, for Mileto was an exempt abbey directly subject to the Holy See, to which the right of consecration thereby pertained.[100] Another cardinal bishop, Manfred of Praeneste, was on his way with two colleagues from the Curia, then at Benevento, to commence the peace negotiations with the emperor early in 1177, when he judged a dispute between a nunnery near Foggia and the monks of Pulsano, which the former had brought to the pope's attention.[101] But it was far more usual for such appeals to be remitted back to members of the local hierarchy as judges-delegate.

Furthermore, after 1156 the formal relationship between king and pope receded into the background. Whereas before 1130 the rulers' fealty had been renewed to each new pontiff, and by each new ruler, this was no longer an issue. There was certainly opportunity; Alexander III came to Messina in 1165, resided at Benevento between 1167 and 1171, and came there again in 1176 and 1177 on his way to and from the peace conference at Venice. But William II did not swear fealty to the papacy until 1188, and even then there was no question of any formal investiture with his kingdom. The agreement of 1156 was deemed, on both sides, to have settled the legitimacy and permanence of the Hauteville dynasty. In 1188 Clement III was at pains to reassure the king that once he or any of his successors had sworn fealty there would be no need for that ruler to repeat the oath to any future pope for 'it is not our intention to impose anything that is intolerable, either to you or to your successors'.[102] Indeed, had it not been for the marriage of Henry VI to Constance in 1186, and the latter's designation as the childless king's successor, it is unlikely that the fealty would have been an issue at all. But with the possibility of the next emperor becoming also ruler of Sicily,

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[100] *Italia Pontificia*, x.148 no. 12.
[101] *Italia Pontificia*, ix.225 no. 2. Cf. *Romuald*, 270.
[102] MPL cciv.1486 no. 20.

the papacy wished once more to stress the juridical link that (at least in theory) subordinated the kingdom, and protected the see of Peter from aggression. That relations with Barbarossa had been so tense in the 1180s only underlined the wisdom of this precaution. However, it was in no sense directed against William II.

There is one more aspect which illustrates the closeness of relations between southern Italy and the Curia in the later twelfth century. Southern Italians were once again recruited to the college of cardinals. In the period between the two schisms of 1130 and 1159, only three south Italian cardinals had been appointed, of whom one was the absentee Abbot Rainald of Montecassino (compared with at least twenty-five north Italians and thirteen Frenchmen).[103] However, both the south Italians appointed in the 1150s remained in the college for some thirty years, and they were joined by others, albeit not in large numbers. Both Abbot John IV of St. Sophia, Benevento, and Abbot Leonas of Casauria were appointed cardinals during Alexander III's residence in Benevento. Although the south Italian element declined in the 1180s—both John of Naples and Abbot Leonas died in 1182—subsequent appointments included Roger of S. Severino, Archbishop of Benevento, before June 1180, Abbot Roffred of Montecassino in 1188, another Cassinese monk John of Salerno in 1190, and the Amalfitan Peter Capuanus in 1193. This latter pair were active and prominent permanent members of the Curia, not just honorary appointments. John of Salerno was indeed one of the candidates at the papal election of 1198.[104]

The death of William II and the dispute over the kingship which followed left the Curia in something of a dilemma. It has been plausibly suggested that the delay between King Tancred's election and coronation can be explained by his, or his supporters', wish to obtain papal confirmation for their choice.[105] But at the same time the Curia had no wish openly to antagonise the German court, and there was division within its ranks as to the policy to be pursued. Thus any support for Tancred had to remain covert, with the papacy appearing to be the honest broker between the two parties—hence, for example, negotiating the release of the empress after her capture in

[103] Zenker (1964), 199–201, Robinson (1990), 50–2.
[104] Ganzer (1963), 119–21, 129–31, 141–4, Maleczek (1984), 107–9, 117–24, Sayers (1994), 25. Peter Capuanus's nephew, John, was later Archbishop of Amalfi (1216–39), Kamp (1973–82), i.395–7.
[105] Clementi (1967), 59–64.

1191. Only in 1192, after the emperor had set his face against any attempt at a peaceful settlement, was Tancred's government openly acknowledged, and then Celestine III did so at a moment when some of the pro-Staufen (or more cautious) cardinals were absent.[106] And he did so at a price, the renegotiation of the ecclesiastical concordat of 1156, with a considerable dilution of the powers exercised by the monarch. Thus appeals were henceforth to be freely allowed from Sicily as well as the mainland. The papacy was to have the right to send a legation to the island every five years, and although the royal right to be notified of the identity of a bishop-elect was retained, in the event of the king disapproving of the choice he had no automatic right of rejection, but only to notify the papacy of that disapproval. Furthermore the king agreed to do homage and fealty in future (one should note that there had been no reference to homage in 1188).[107]

From Tancred's point of view such concessions were well worth while, in return for open papal support. Equally naturally, they were quite unacceptable to Henry VI and Constance after their conquest of the kingdom in 1194. Their objections were set out in a long letter from Constance to Celestine III in October 1195. This accused the pope of disturbing the peace of the realm and introducing scandal therein. The grounds for this were threefold. First, the pope had despatched a general legate to Apulia and Calabria (this was, although the letter does not name him, the Amalfitan cardinal Peter Capuanus).[108] Secondly he had interfered with the election of an abbot at the court monastery of St. John of the Hermits, patronage of which was particularly dear to the royal family; and in addition he had consecrated Hugh, dean of Troia, as archbishop of Siponto, despite his having shown himself by his actions at the papal court to be hostile to her and her husband's interests.[109]

Both sides undoubtedly considered themselves entirely within their rights. Celestine had, for example, already appointed a general legate

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[106] Robinson (1990), 118–19. For the empress, *Annales Ceccanenses*, ad. an. 1193, MGH SS xix.292. Henry told the pope in March 1192 that the only thing to which he would agree was 'that we may be able, as we ought, to possess in peace the kingdom of Sicily that has been treacherously and traitorously seized', MGH *Constitutiones*, i.491–2 no. 344 [= Clementi (1955), 112–13 no. 17].

[107] MGH *Constitutiones*, i.593–4 no. 417.

[108] Maleczek (1996), 41–2.

[109] Constance, *Diplomata*, 10–14 no. 3 [also published by Kehr (1905), 50–3 no. 9]. Discussion, Baaken (1971), 489–93, Deér (1972), 261–2, Zerbi (1983), 65–8.

to southern Italy, Gerald, cardinal deacon of S. Adriano, after the
Treaty of Gravina in 1192,[110] and anyway would have been entitled
to do so under the Treaty of Benevento. It is probable that the
pope's involvement in the affairs of the monastery of St. John had
been in response to an appeal by the monks, which they would have
been entitled to make according to the treaty of 1192.[111] Similarly,
the king had abandoned his right of veto over episcopal and abba-
tial elections in 1192. But of course the new rulers would never
accept the legitimacy of that treaty, and whatever may in theory
have been permitted by way of legations to the mainland after 1156,
in practice there had indeed not been such a general legation before
1189, as Constance's letter pointed out, but only legates sent to the
royal court, or others who had acted while in transit to other places
(which, as we have seen, was in fact true, if perhaps not the whole
truth). Constance's letter was in fact just as much an appeal to the
past as that Innocent III was later to make. These 'new and unac-
customed practices' had disturbed the kingdom, in a way that had
never occurred 'under our father the lord King Roger, or under the
other kings our brother and nephew'. The pope's predecessors had
not done this, nor should he. The monastery of St. John had been
founded by her father, was right next to the palace, and the monks
were accustomed to receive their victuals directly from the royal
household. Hence any interference here was injurious to the royal
majesty. The empress could not permit any diminution of the rights
exercised by her predecessors, and indeed she stressed her right of
inheritance to the full panoply (*plenitudo*) of that hereditary right.

Papal policy towards the kingdom of Sicily after 1195 was com-
plicated by Henry VI's position as emperor, and the busy diplomatic
traffic between the papal and imperial courts would seem to have
been concerned more with such issues as Henry's attempt to secure
his infant son's succession to the imperial throne, his claims to the
duchy of Spoleto, and his proposed crusade, than with the Sicilian
throne or Church. Nor can we assume that Henry's concerns and
those of Constance were necessarily identical, nor that they viewed
their rule over the kingdom in exactly the same light.[112] Indeed, it

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[110] He was rector of Benevento, but also held a commission as Apostolic legate,
cf. Maleczek (1984), 78–9.
[111] Baaken (1971), 490.
[112] Clementi (1953/4), 328–35. For Spoleto and central Italy, Partner (1972),
226–7, and for the Crusade, Csendes (1993), 179–88.

was even rumoured in Germany that the empress was a party to the plots against her husband in Sicily.[113] But the rights claimed by the monarch over the Church in the *regno* remained a delicate issue, and the emperor upheld these rights in terms very similar to those used by his wife. The appointment of Hugh of Troia as archbishop was, so he complained to the pope in July 1196, 'against the custom of our predecessors and the kingdom'.[114] He too made appeal to the past. After Henry's death, we are told that Constance offered substantial gifts to secure, not just papal recognition of her son's succession, but a renewal of the Treaty of Benevento, including the full range of royal powers over the Church that it embodied. The new pope, Innocent III, according to his biographer, refused to countenance what was 'deleterious not only to the Apostolic dignity but also to ecclesiastical freedom'.[115] Nevertheless, the terms of the privileges eventually granted, and especially that on ecclesiastical elections, are most significant. Not only did these documents, as we have seen, very consciously look back to the situation under Constance's predecessors before 1189 (as Constance and her advisers also did), but the terms therein marked a deliberate attempt not to offend royal susceptibilities—and certainly not an unequivocal papal victory. Thus, when a bishopric became vacant, the chapter was to notify the ruler. Once a canonical election had taken place, the ruler's assent must be sought, and until this had been received the name of the elect must not be proclaimed, nor could consecration take place. By this procedure, so Innocent wrote, canonical freedom could be reconciled with his wish to respect the royal honour.[116] What the privilege did not state was what right the crown might have, or what it could do, if the choice the canons made was unacceptable. It is probable that this was quite deliberate—the Treaty of Gravina had after all raised the issue, even if denying any royal right of refusal. Now the pope omitted this problem altogether. But it is not clear that he was taking that much of a risk by doing so, vague as the provisions were, for disputed elections had not been a problem before 1189, and in practice the king had only sought to secure the choice of his own candidate in a very few sees—sometimes with

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[113] Csendes (1993), 191–2.
[114] MGH *Constitutiones*, i.523–4 no. 375 [= Clementi (1955), 180–2 no. 91].
[115] *Gesta Innocentii Papae III*, c. 21, MPL ccxiv.31–2.
[116] See above, note 1.

papal connivance.[117] It was the civil war after 1190 and the Staufen succession that had complicated the issue. Hugh of Troia, for example, was almost certainly an unwelcome choice as Archbishop of Siponto because he was a partisan of Tancred, but one may note that he was able to take possession of his see under Constance, although he remained in exile while Henry was alive.[118] Similarly, it was the prospect of Henry's succession which had revived the question of fealty, and even raised demands for homage, that had not been an issue after 1156, and where (even after the matter had been raised in 1188) Clement III had been anxious to tread carefully and not to offend William II. Some scholars have argued that the question of fealty underlay the disputes after 1194, with Henry VI flatly refusing to make such a submission, since he believed Sicily to be rightfully imperial territory, and papal sanction thus irrelevant.[119] Yet while this may have been the case, the only evidence that we have that it was an issue in the diplomatic discussions is a retrospective reference by Innocent III, in an address to the cardinals round about 1200.[120] What contemporary evidence we possess relates rather to the problems concerning the Church, as outlined above.

The death of Constance, the long minority of Frederick, and Innocent III's role as his guardian, led to a very different situation thereafter. The pope had not just the opportunity, but indeed faced the necessity, of interfering in the affairs of southern Italy to an unprecedented extent. But before October 1198 both sides had appealed to the past, and looked to the relationship as it had existed from the Treaty of Benevento onwards. Not every feature of that agreement was entirely pleasing to canonical rigorists, but for a generation it had provided the basis for an effective working relationship,

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[117] As in the election of Stephen of Perche to Palermo in 1167, with the active involvement of the papal legate William of Pavia, and the agreement of Alexander III to the (perhaps uncanonical) election of Walter, Dean of Agrigento, to the same see in 1169, *Falcandus*, 111, 163 [*Tyrants*, 161–2, 215–16].

[118] He had as dean almost certainly administered the see of Troia during the exile of its pro-Staufen bishop, Walter of Pagliaria, in 1191–4, Kamp (1973–82), ii.511, 532–3.

[119] Baaken (1972), 281–93, Zerbi (1983), 56, 70–1. Maleczek (1996), 36–7, is sceptical.

[120] *Registrum Innocentii papae super negotio Romani imperii*, ed. F. Kempf (Rome 1947), 74–91 no. 29, at p. 79. Explaining why Frederick II was an unsuitable candidate for the imperial title, Innocent said: 'on account of the imperial dignity, he would be unwilling to do fealty and homage to the Church for the kingdom of Sicily, as his father was unwilling'.

especially since both parties, pope and king, had been restrained in the exercise of their rights, and anxious to work together. The political alliance after 1156 had consolidated this practical partnership. In many ways, too, the position had been similar at an earlier period, before the 1120s, when it had also been in the long-term interests of both the new Norman rulers and the papacy to co-operate. Such considerations were far more important than any theoretical claims of the papacy concerning its 'feudal' overlordship. The more aggressive papal policy under Honorius II, the disappearance of south Italians from the college of cardinals, and above all the schism of 1130, had for a time disrupted a relationship that was mutually beneficial, as it was for the Church in southern Italy, which benefited from papal reorganisation and from secular protection and endowment. But even in the 1140s relations were by no means universally hostile, and there were attempts by the Curia to re-establish friendly relations. The wide-ranging provisions of the treaty of 1156 restored the previous alliance, and both Constance (who was after all a member of the pre-1189 ruling dynasty) and Innocent III recognised the significance of that treaty. For both the papacy and the south Italian rulers co-operation, not confrontation, was in their interests.

THE BISHOPS OF SOUTHERN ITALY
IN THE NORMAN AND STAUFEN PERIODS[1]

Norbert Kamp

The two centuries between 1059 and 1266 mark not only a decisive stage in the history of southern Italy, but also a clear break in the history of the south Italian episcopate. The period saw the rule of a Norman warrior nobility imposed upon fragmented Greek, Lombard and Arab lordships and populations, against the background of a slow Latinisation of the Church and its orientation towards Rome. Later on, there was the consolidation of the monarchy founded by the Normans, and its renewal through the reforms of the Emperor Frederick II. Initially, this was a period of reorganisation and new development for the Church in southern Italy, set against a background of Latin and western expansion. Later, there was a long-term process, interrupted only for short intervals, whereby the Church was integrated into the political structure of a powerful monarchy. The churches within the kingdom were to a great extent supported and run by the institutions of the new ruling power; while at the same time, through legal restrictions and the specific organisation of their endowment, they were prevented from developing autonomous tendencies. Given this background, one may well wonder what if any internal developments took place within the south Italian episcopate during this period. How far was its social status, largely a product of its origins and education, affected by the changing demands of the various local, regional, royal and indeed clerical institutions, and to what extent did the various reforming movements of this long period impinge upon it?

When we assess the episcopate over these two centuries from this double aspect, we must keep in mind that the iron grip of the monarchy created by King Roger bound together social groups which had

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over time developed very differently, and whose mutual tensions, while not necessarily inflamed by monarchical action, were not entirely smoothed out either. The episcopate worked within an alliance of peoples with very different social hierarchies: to begin with it found a superficial unity only through the regulation of questions of ecclesiastical organisation and in the ordering of its relationships with the monarchy and papacy. It is difficult, however, to talk of any intrinsic unity, based either upon language, liturgical uniformity, similarities of education or of social origin. In the earliest phase of Norman reorganisation it was necessary to strike a balance between existing traditions, new developments that took place on a regional basis—and might therefore be very different—between local rivalries, sometimes latent, sometimes overt or newly awakened by the conquerors, and between the ambitions of metropolitans and the needs of the emerging state. Furthermore dioceses and episcopal churches in southern Italy were generally very small, except on the northern and southern periphery, that is in the Abruzzi and on the island of Sicily. We must therefore proceed with caution, and survey the main stages of development.

From the mid-twelfth century onwards there were some 145 bishoprics within the south Italian kingdom. We know the names of some 1200 bishops or bishops-elect of these sees during these two centuries. If we disregard a few tiny and very poor bishoprics about which we have little or no information, we have an average of ten names for every diocese. If we then assume that the average period a bishop held office was about ten years, which is not unfeasible, this suggests that we may only know the identity of about half the prelates of the period. We can cross-check this by examining the episcopate in sample years, with clearly determinable gaps between them, for example in 1100, 1130/1 (when the kingdom was created), 1189/90 (at the death of William II), 1220/1 (when Frederick II began to impose his personal rule), and 1250/1 (at the time of his death). In these particular years the proportion of the episcopate whom we can identify varies from as little as 30 percent to as much as 70 percent of the whole, but again this suggests that overall we have a sample of about half. For obvious reasons, especially archival survival, the proportion identifiable also varies from region to region, but tends to increase when one examines the more important churches, and especially the archbishoprics.

My inquiry is however directed not just at the names, but primarily at the social origins and educational background of the south

Italian bishops. We have detailed information about only a small proportion of the bishops identifiable by name. The main reason for this is the historical tradition. At this period the main centres of south Italian historical writing were monastic.[2] Only a modest hagiographical literature developed within the cathedrals, and this often with monastic support. This was directed first at the founders and patron saints of the sees, but sometimes also chose for its subject a few bishops from the first generation appointed by the Normans or from their contemporaries in office. But, so far as I can see, this did not result in the cultivation of a specific type of historical writing orientated towards the bishopric itself, in the style of the *Gesta Episcoporum* of northern Europe. The only works of this type that we can cite are a fragmentary chronicle from Troia in northern Apulia, which goes up only to 1187, and the *Libellus de successione pontificum Agrigenti*, dating from the time of Bishop Rainald of Aquaviva (1240–66). This latter work is a combination of brief biographies of the bishops, and a record of the property and benefices of the see, but lacks any literary ambition or polish.[3] What can be added from more recent periods, from Cefalù, Syracuse and some other places, are catalogues of names with only sparse additional information, and because of the length of time that had elapsed before this was written such information can only be verified with considerable difficulty.[4] Thus prosopographic research must make up for what the failure to preserve a tradition has omitted.

Even though such research can take as its starting point the work of the seventeenth-century antiquaries Ferdinando Ughelli and Rocco Pirri, and use the material collected and handed down by these two scholars, our inquiry can still only be a preliminary one, and we cannot reap easy or satisfactory results for every region. Modern charter and register publications have undoubtedly enriched our knowledge for most regions of southern Italy, and there is undoubtedly new evidence still to be revealed, contained both in state and ecclesiastical archives, especially for the thirteenth century. But even this only provides the raw material for prosopographic research and, up until now, even for the Norman period, this has neither been

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[2] Capasso (1903), 68 ff.

[3] P. Collura, *Le Più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092–1282)* (Palermo 1961), 300 ff. The Troia fragment is in Pellicia (1782), 129 ff.

[4] E.g. the list of bishops in the *Rollus Rubeus. Privilegia Ecclesie Cephaleditane*, ed. C. Mirto (Palermo 1972), 32–3, dating from 1329/30.

sufficiently analysed nor properly evaluated. There have been a number of recent histories of particular bishoprics, but even a cursory glance at these shows that while they often provide new material, their breath is seldom sufficient to blow away the debris of pseudo-historical tradition. They also often perpetuate the errors and rash hypotheses of Ughelli and Pirri. To answer questions about the origin and education of a medieval bishop, one has to reconstruct his biography, from a few, often isolated and fragmentary, sources, which can be a difficult business, and especially so when the sources are not located in a single place. For example, for the life of Archbishop Pietro Papparonus of Brindisi (1231–48) research was need in the Vatican archives, at Brindisi, the abbey of Cava, Cremona and Pistoia.[5] It is however encouraging that such prosopographic research about the episcopate has taken place against a background of stimulating new work on the medieval Church, one of the main protagonists of which is Cinzio Violante. This gives even the dusty literary format of the ecclesiastical *Chronotassi* a new content and interest, concerned more with real people rather than simply with names and dates.[6]

Under these circumstances, one can successfully investigate the geographic origin of only somewhat fewer than one fifth of the bishops whose names we know. For their social origin we can draw conclusions (or even make plausible hypotheses) concerning less than 15 percent of the bishops in question. For their educational background we can make only a similarly feeble answer. Hence, given that we have many gaps even in our lists of names, this means that our conclusions are based upon a sample of (at best) less than a tenth of the possible candidates for analysis. Such results can therefore only be indicative.

The early Norman period up to the pontificate of Urban II

In the period before the Normans consolidated their authority as rulers the episcopate was a product of the existing political structures and social order, indeed it was very much a part of them. In the principal towns of Langobardia, and in the principalities of Capua, Benevento, and Salerno, the bishops (and in the capital cities from the later tenth century archbishops) were drawn from the princely

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[5] Kamp (1973–82), ii.674–6.

[6] Violante (1970).

families themselves, or from the aristocracy of these principalities.[7] In the churches of the Abruzzi, which were only incorporated into the wider south Italian Church when that region was taken over by Roger II, the bishops were usually related to the great noble families who had for a long time been dominant in this area, above all the Counts of Marsia and the many collateral branches of that kin group. One should note too that the churches here always retained a landed, 'feudal', endowment.[8] In the city states of the Tyrrenian coast, the situation was very similar to that in the Lombard principalities. Bishops were often members of the ruling ducal family—a good example is Leo of Gaeta, bishop from 1050 onwards, or they belonged to the patrician families who formed the upper stratum of society there, as in Amalfi and Naples. Where such men had been selected for an ecclesiastical career at an early age, they were educated primarily in the schools of the principal towns, as at Salerno, or, as was often the case in Amalfi, within one of the monasteries of their native area.[9]

In those Latin sees in the areas under Byzantine rule, bishops were drawn for preference from the circle of local dignitaries, even when their appointment was controlled by the government in Constantinople or by its local representatives. They bore Greek titles of rank, and prior to their appointment as bishop had often worked as lawyers or judges. The step from being a layman to securing a bishopric was one which could be rapidly overcome, and also, clearly with little expenditure.[10]

After the synod of Melfi, there was a change. This involved more than simply the replacement of Greeks by Latins, or the return of estranged Latin prelates to obedience to Rome. This did at times occur, but one should note that the break with the traditional pattern of recruitment or appointment took place less in Benevento, Capua, Salerno, Naples and Amalfi, where the urban social structure and educational opportunities were initially little affected by the Norman conquest. The change came rather in the new see of Aversa,

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[7] Cilento (1971), 184–207.
[8] Feller (1998a), 791–9, 840–8.
[9] Skinner (1995), 90–3. On Leo of Gaeta, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, i.533–4. On Archbishop Lawrence of Amalfi (died 1049), Holtzmann (1947), and more generally on Amalfi, Schwarz (1978), 42–3, 47, 86–107.
[10] Falkenhausen (1967), 146–57.

and in Apulia, at places such as Troia, Siponto, Melfi, Acerenza, Taranto and Otranto, and eventually also at Bari and Trani.

Among the new archbishops there were prelates of great reputation such as Alfanus I of Salerno (1058–85), Roffred of Benevento (1076–1107), Arnulf of Cosenza (1059–80), and Arnold of Acerenza (1067–1101), who maintained close connections with the Roman Curia and communicated on an equal footing with the leading representatives of reform circles. Men such as these saw themselves as the promoters of ecclesiastical renewal. Among their first steps in this regard was the re-establishment of ancient tradition through the revival of the cult of their sees' patron saints—as took place, for example, at the archbishoprics of Acerenza, Bari and Taranto, and at the bishopric of Troia.[11] Arnold of Acerenza took this renewal a stage further. He introduced into his diocese monks from the abbey of St. Lawrence at Aversa.[12] This can only mean that he expected the necessary help for the restoration of the Church in southern Italy from reformed monasticism. Arnold saw the Aversan monastery as providing a basis of support for his organisation of the Church in southern Apulia and Lucania.

We can only assume that Arnold's connection with the abbey of St. Lawrence was explained by his own Norman origin—Aversa, of course, being the quintessentially Norman town. We can see personal factors more clearly at work with another prelate who a little later occupied an archiepiscopal see with a much stronger historical tradition—Elias of Bari (1089–1105). Elias would appear to have been a native of Bari, where he was first a monk, and then the abbot of the monastery of St. Mary. Shortly before the end of Byzantine rule he was chosen as Abbot of St. Benedict's, the largest monastery in the town, which Robert Guiscard was later to place under the ecclesiastical patronage of Montecassino. As abbot, Elias gained such a reputation that after the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas to Bari in 1087 he was put at the head of the ecclesiastical corporation that supervised the building of the new church of St. Nicholas and looked after the saint's cult. Hence, after the death of Archbishop Ursus in 1089, it went almost without saying that Elias was made his successor. In this capacity he was both the

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[11] Acerenza: Lupus Prothospatharius, *Annales*, ad. an 1080, *MGH SS* v.60. Bari: *Historia Inventionis Corporis S. Sabini Episcopi Canusini*, *Acta SS Feb.* ii.330–2. [BHL 7445]. Taranto: Hofmeister (1924). Troia, Guaferius of Montecassino, *Vita S. Secundini, Episcopi Troiani*, MPL 147.1293 ff. [BHL 7556].

[12] *Reg. Neap. Arch. Mon.* v.104–5 no. 438 (December 1083).

ecclesiastical leader of the town and the unchallenged spokesman for its people. We know little about his family, although the documents do mention a few people as his relatives, but we must assume that he came from the ranks of the educated Barese patriciate: judges, landowners and lords of proprietary churches. We know nothing of his ecclesiastical training, but there is one stage of his earlier career that deserves emphasis—Elias was a Benedictine monk from a monastery which was orientated towards Montecassino.[13]

This connection links him with a number of other prelates at this period who set their dioceses on course for a future in a spirit of reform and in obedience to the Roman Church. Thus Gerard, who was appointed to Siponto in 1064 by Pope Alexander II and who completed the new organisation of this church on the Adriatic coast, had been a monk of Montecassino. From 1074 to 1076 he acted as Gregory VII's legate in Dalmatia. He was originally a German, but what was important was not his country of birth but that he had received his ecclesiastical training at Montecassino.[14] From a slightly earlier period, from c. 1050 onwards, the monastic community at Montecassino became an important recruiting ground for the episcopate. This was naturally very much the case in the immediate neighbourhood of the monastery in the northern part of the principality of Capua and the duchy of Gaeta (in the sees of Gaeta, Fondi, Sora, Aquino and Isernia).[15] But among other Cassinese prelates we may note in particular Archbishop Peter of Naples (1094–1100), and above all Archbishop Alfanus I of Salerno.[16] His pontificate, from 1058 to 1085, saw the restructuring of his province and the foundation of new sees, and while this was clearly not his work alone—lay patrons played their part—as metropolitan a high measure of initiative for church appointments, including to these suffragan sees, fell on him.[17] Before his entry into Montecassino, under the influence of his friend the future abbot, Desiderius, Alfanus was already, as a

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[13] For his election and consecration, *Cod. Dipl. Barese* i.61–5 nos. 33–4, Loud (2000a), 266. More generally, Nitti de Vito (1942), though the hypothesis here that there was a Gregorian-Guibertine split in the city is misguided, Babudri (1949), and Houben (1996), 274–83.

[14] *Chron. Cas.* III.24, p. 391. *Italia Pontificia*, ix.236 no. 14. Leccisotti (1943) 155–8.

[15] Loud (1985), 46–7.

[16] Peter: Lentini (1952a), 67–9, 80–2, 93–5. Hoffmann (1965), 143. Alfanus: Acocella (1971), 3 *et seq.*

[17] See now Taviani-Carozzi (1991), 949–1036, Ramseyer (1995), 208–211, and Ramseyer (1996), 440–64.

highly-educated pupil of the Salernitan schools a figure of some con-
sequence. He had medical knowledge, an ability at languages, skill
as a poet, and wide intellectual horizons, but it was his encounter
with Montecassino that gave his ecclesiastical work direction and
consequence. The circle to which his poetry was addressed gives
some hint of the solidarity of those prelates who had been formed
by Cassinese monasticism.[18] However, Alfanus was also friends with
other bishops, such as Godfrey of Aversa (1059–75), who was pre-
sumably a Norman or Frenchman.[19] When Alfanus established a new
diocese based at Policastro, his first choice for its bishop was a Cava
monk, Peter Pappacarbone, who had recently returned from Cluny.
Peter would appear to have soon resigned his see, and he returned
to his monastery where as abbot (1079–1122) he was responsible for
an extraordinary expansion of its congregation and influence.[20] It
seems reasonable to suggest that both Alfanus and Peter belonged
to the same social stratum, that of the educated social élite of the
principality, who profited from the educational opportunities of its
principal town and tended to monopolise appointments to its prin-
cipal churches. Since Alfanus's brothers had taken part in the con-
spiracy responsible for the murder of Prince Guaimar IV in 1052,
it would seem certain that their family was one of consequence in
the town's political life.[21]

The Latin churches established in what was formerly Greek Calabria
and the new churches founded in Sicily were primarily staffed from
the monasteries established by Robert Guiscard and his brother
Roger: Venosa, Sant'Euphemia and Mileto.[22] Above all it was
Sant'Euphemia which nurtured the future bishops, but with some
truth the same can also be said about the monastery of St. Agatha
at Catania in eastern Sicily, founded with the help of monks from
Sant'Euphemia. Prelates at Mileto, Reggio, and later Patti came from
its ranks or were linked to its monastic community. Ansger (died
1124/5) went from Sant'Euphemia to be the first abbot, and then

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[18] *Chron. Cas.* III.7–8, pp. 368–9. *I Carmi di Alfano, arcivescovo di Salerno*, ed. A. Lentini
& F. Avagliano (Miscellanea Cassinese 38, 1974).

[19] *Carmi di Alfano*, 153–4, no. 21.

[20] Loud (1987), 146–7, 150–5. Taviani-Carozzi (1991), ii.1049–65. Ramseyer
(1996), 478–557.

[21] *Chron. Cas.* III.7, p. 368.

[22] Houben (1995), is now the standard work on Venosa, see especially pp. 139–48.
For an older, but still useful, treatment, Ménager (1959).

bishop, of Catania. It is probable that Bishops Roger (died 1103/5) and William (1105–16) of Syracuse began their ecclesiastical careers here as well.[23] Another place where future bishops received their ecclesiastical training was the Augustinian priory of St. Mary of Bagnara, from which came not only the first bishops of Cefalù, but also some of the earliest bishops of Agrigento.[24]

We may therefore conclude that the first generation of the new episcopate, in the northern part of the region from c. 1060, and in Calabria and Sicily from c. 1090, was to a considerable extent shaped by a high proportion of Benedictine monks, a number of whom had either come from or been influenced by either Montecassino or Guiscard's foundation at Sant'Euphemia. This is especially the case if we also take into account that other prelates about whose background we have no direct knowledge showed themselves to have favoured and protected Latin monasticism, or like Bishops Atto of Chieti (1056–71) and Stephen of Troia (1059–80) enlisted the help of Montecassino in their work.[25] The episcopate in the early Norman period was thus powerfully influenced by monasticism.

Montecassino was not the only intellectual centre. Alfanus I of Salerno received his early education in the schools of Salerno. But the monastic community at Montecassino possessed the greatest reserve of suitable personnel for the renewal of the episcopate in southern Italy. Widespread recruitment of bishops from cathedral chapters, which had often only recently been formed, was clearly not yet possible. The new monasteries founded by the Norman rulers in the southern provinces fulfilled a similar role to Montecassino as places for the training of a primarily monastic episcopate in these regions.

This monastic background also helps to explain the wide geographic origin of the new episcopate, which seems in the later eleventh century to have been, to a very noticable extent, the product of an international movement. Thus at Troia, Walter, Bishop from 1080 onwards was a 'Frenchman' (*francigenus*); does this signify from the Ile de France? His successor Gerard (1091–7) came from Piacenza in northern Italy, then Hubert (1097–1101) was from Maine, and

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[23] White (1938), 105–111. *Malaterra*, IV.7, p. 89. See also the Martyrology of the Church of Catania, in Ughelli's papers, Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, Codice Barberini latini, 3217, fols. 221–7.

[24] White (1938), 189–95. On Agrigento, Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.697.

[25] Atto: Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vi.676–8, *Carmi di Alfano*, 141–2 no. 16, 170 no. 31, Hoffmann (1965), 130. Stephan: Guaferius, *Vita S. Secundini* [above, note 10].

William I (1102–6) from Bigorre.[26] The French element was pri-
marily a consequence of the arrival of the Normans, but it was never
exclusively Norman, and the recruitment of foreign bishops was also
a reflection of the shortage of suitable personnel that came with the
foundation of new sees and the advance of Latinisation in Calabria.
It was exacerbated by the need for bishops who came up to the
standards of the reform movement in the Church and who also
justified the expectations of loyalty of the Norman princes. The con-
tinued relationship of the Normans with their homeland, which lasted
for a century or more, and the spiritual control of the papacy over
Franco-Burgundian monasticism, were both factors which increased
the number of bishops who originated from outside southern Italy.
Early on, there were even a few Germans, notably Archbishops
Udalric of Benevento (1053–69) and Gerard of Siponto (died after
1076).[27] These were no doubt latecomers from the first, largely
German, phase of church reform at Rome (and to some extent also
at Montecassino). We cannot unfortunately be certain as to the ori-
gins of such prelates as Archbishops Hugh (1067–71) and Berard of
Otranto (1090–1101), Drogo of Taranto (attested 1071), Arnold of
Acerenza (1067–1101), Alcherius of Palermo (1083–9) and Bishop
Sasso of Cassano (1089–1105). However, I would suggest that they
were all Normans or Frenchmen, members of the new (although not
yet firmly established) upper social stratum, the aristocracy that
observed Frankish law. They had probably therefore received their
training for office in their homeland. The chronicler Malaterra does
give us more precise information about the first generation of bish-
ops on the island of Sicily. Robert of Troina and Messina (1081–1106)
was a Lombard from northern Italy. Gerland of Agrigento (died
1104) came from the Besançon region, Ansger of Catania was a
Breton, Stephen of Mazara a Norman from Rouen. Roger of Syracuse
(died 1103/5) was from Provence.[28]

The contribution of northern Italy was also significant in a num-
ber of cases where the papacy was involved in the appointment.
Two Cassinese monks appointed to bishoprics by Nicholas II in 1059,
Peter of Isernia and Martin of Aquino, came originally from Ravenna
and Florence respectively. Gerard of Troia (1092–7) came from
Piacenza, as did Archbishop Albert of Siponto (1100–16) and (St.)

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[26] Pellicia (1782), 130, *Italia Pontificia*, ix.205–6.
[27] *Italia Pontificia*, ix.57–60, 236. Above, note 13.
[28] *Malaterra* IV.7, 23, pp. 89, 101.

Gerard, Bishop of Potenza (died 1119). Their youth and formative years had been spent in a climate imbued with the currents of reform then current in this town on the Po. Albert had been a monk at the abbey of San Savino in Piacenza.[29]

From Urban II until the unification of southern Italy by Roger II

A new stage of development, and a conscious intensification of links with the Roman church, came with Urban II. He spent a substantial part of his pontificate, especially in the early years, in southern Italy, and in 1098 his dramatic clash with Roger I of Sicily led to his granting the latter the so-called 'legatine' privilege. Increased papal intervention led to the appointment of a series of prelates who before their arrival in southern Italy had been cardinals, and thus in direct contact with the pope. This was certainly not the only influence working upon the episcopate. This 'second generation' of bishops after the Norman conquest also reflected the enduring power of local lords and communities, whose choice inevitably tended to be of natives of the relevant town. Examples of such prelates include Archbishop Riso of Bari (assassinated in 1117),[30] the Greek successors of Bishop Baldric of Gallipoli (after 1115),[31] and Archbishops Roffred of Benevento (1076–1107) and Alfanus II of Salerno (1086–1121).[32] But while local tradition remained strong, the phenomenon of cardinals being appointed to south Italian sees was still striking.

Urban II appointed a Burgundian cardinal, Rangerius, originally a monk of Marmoutier, to the archbishopric of Reggio Calabria in 1090. Under Paschal II he was followed in 1100 by Albert of Piacenza at Siponto (as already mentioned). Albert had previously been cardinal priest of Sta. Sabina. Between 1101 and 1105 Calixtus II sent a further cardinal, who cannot now be identified, to be archbishop of Brindisi. Early in 1122 Calixtus II had him succeeded by Abelard, a cardinal deacon, who held this see for more than twenty years until his death c. 1143. Other former cardinals holding south Italian

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[29] *Chron. Cas.* III.14, pp. 376–7. *Italia Pontificia,* ix.205, 236, 484–5. *Vita Gerardi episcopi Potentini, Acta SS October,* xiii.467 *et seq.* (BHL 3429). Ganzer (1963), 55–7.

[30] *Anonymi Barensis Chronicon,* RIS v.155–6. Carabellese (1905), 378–95, Nitti di Vito (1942), 568 ff.

[31] *Le Pergamene della curia e del capitolo di Nardò,* ed. M. Pastore (Lecce 1964), 39–41 no. 3. *Italia Pontificia,* ix.428–31. Girgensohn (1973), 38.

[32] Roffred: *Italia Pontificia,* ix.60–1, Lentini (1952b), 231–3, Lohrmann (1967), 630 ff. Alfanus: *Italia Pontificia* viii.353–7. Paesano (1852), 11 ff.

sees during this period were Bishop Berard of Marsia (died 1130), and Archbishops Landulf of Benevento (1108–19) and Romuald I of Salerno (1121–36).[33] With the appointment of these former cardinals the popes must have hoped both to counteract local pressure and the political control of the episcopate by the rulers of southern Italy, and at the same time not only to have representatives of Roman authority there but also prelates of exemplary life to improve standards.

However, this provision of an exemplary role model for the episcopate was in the event less a function of this group of former cardinals, whose appointment was a relatively transient phenomenon which quickly faded from memory, but stemmed (at least for some individual dioceses) rather from a group of saintly prelates, some of whom were active in the later eleventh century, and more in the early decades of the twelfth, and all of whom were the subject of local cults. The older generation included Rainerius of Forcone (1065–72), John of Montemarono (c. 1084–5), Amatus of Nusco (died 1093), and Gerland of Agrigento (died 1104/5).[34] They were followed by Bernard of Carinola (died 1109), Gerard of Potenza (died 1119), Albert of Montecorvino (died 1127), and in the Abruzzi region Berard of Teramo (died 1122) and Berard of Marsia (died 1130).[35] These episcopal saints do not form a unified group, either in their social background, their ecclesiastical training, or even in their lifestyle. But they remained a conspicuous presence, and it was significant that in a number of sees where their successors were seeking a tradition of edification and incentive, they looked straight to the prelates of these decades.

The Norman monarchy

Despite the problems caused by the Anacletan schism and its aftermath, this was the period in which the episcopal Church in southern Italy was consolidated. Although the constitution of the dioceses on the island of Sicily remained the subject of controversy for a gen-

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[33] Ganzer (1963), 45–9, 55–7, 63–7, 72–5. Hüls (1977), 174, 181, 203, 207–9, 245. *Italia Pontificia*, ix.402 no. 3. Abelard's titular church as cardinal deacon cannot be identified.

[34] *Martyrologium Romanum*, Paris 1661, 367. *Acta SS, August*, iii.516 ff. (BHL 4414), *August*, vi.720 ff., 844 ff. (BHL 359–61), Caetani (1657), ii.128 ff.

[35] *Acta SS, March*, i.232–3 (BHL 1205), *October*, xiii.467 ff. (BHL 3429), *April*, i.434 ff. (BHL 231), Palma (1832), 139 ff., 173–4, 185–6, *Acta SS, November*, ii.128 ff. (BHL 1174–6).

eration after 1130, the organisational structure of the Church on the mainland was by now established and remained very largely unchanged from now on. Transfers of episcopal seats from one church to another, or new foundations, did occur very occasionally, but these were quite exceptional events.

Even in relatively new bishoprics, the cathedral chapter became a firm institution, and thus a means facilitating local or regional self-recruitment of bishops. However, most sees were small and poor, and few could provide adequate support for a cathedral school. Furthermore, after a succession of internal crises in the early twelfth century the influence of Montecassino on the episcopate waned. So in many places there was a noticeable lack of qualified personnel. As was also the case with bishoprics in the Holy Land, this vacuum attracted wandering ecclesiastical fortune hunters, as well as clerics who had failed, or were dissatisfied with their prospects, in their native land. They were not necessarily successful, even in the years during which Anacletus II was stretching out his hand to every west European prelate who sided with him. For example, Philip, the nephew of Archbishop Gilbert of Tours, was unable to secure his own succession to that see, and as a result came to Rome. Anacletus then, in about 1135, consecrated him as archbishop of Taranto. However, either because he was never at home in Taranto or, much more probably, because of the hostility of the victorious party in the schism, Philip eventually left his archbishopric and eventually took Cistercian vows as a monk of Clairvaux.[36]

The integration of foreigners was clearly not a matter of course. But it could be achieved, as was done by Gentile, a Tuscan who had initially gone from his native region to Hungary, and there, thanks to his literary education (which by contemporary standards was impressive) became the royal chancellor. In about 1154 the Hungarian king sent him as his envoy to Palermo, and William I offered him the Sicilian bishopric of Agrigento, which had just become vacant. Gentile accepted, and he found his way into the cultivated world of Palermitan court society, to which he belonged until his death in 1171, as a trusted royal servant, although he was greatly disliked by the so-called 'Hugo Falcandus', whose history is our principal source for these years.[37]

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[36] *The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury*, ed. M. Chibnall (London 1956), p. 65.
[37] *Più antiche Carte di Agrigento* (as note 3 above), 308. *Falcandus*, 91–2, 95, 109,

Such examples show not only the personal success of those clerics who came to Sicily from the north, but highlight the weaknesses already mentioned in south Italian ecclesiastical institutions which could not guarantee to provide enough trained personnel for all the higher ranks of the Church. By the time of the first two Sicilian kings such foreign clerics no longer brought with them the spirit of Norman or Burgundian monasticism, but rather the new intellectual agility and linguistic competence of the northern French cathedral schools. Their training easily put local candidates in the shade. No doubt this intellectual formation was an important factor in the success of the Englishman Richard Palmer, bishop of Syracuse from 1157, and then archbishop of Messina (1183–95), who was a major figure at the royal court for much of this period. Richard still maintained links with his homeland, but made his career in Sicily, even though it was rumoured that Henry II had tried to lure him home with an offer of the see of Lincoln.[38] A much less political prelate was another English-man, Herbert of Middlesex (1169–81), who was archbishop of Conza, and earned a saintly reputation in his province.[39] The Sicilian careers of the brothers Peter (died 1212) and William of Blois were curtailed prematurely by the expulsion of Stephen of Perche and his follow-ers, but if we are to believe Peter's claims, both had been candi-dates for Sicilian sees, William at Catania and Peter at Naples. It was not their spiritual qualities but their scholastic literary qualifications (and court patronage) that offered a path to episcopal rank within the kingdom to these subjects of the king of England.[40] The same may well have been true for some other foreigners such as William of Poitou, Bishop of Troia c. 1180–7.[41] Southern Italy still lacked sufficient centres of education to provide qualified personnel for all of the large number of bishoprics it contained.

114–15, 133, 143–6, 149–50, 161, 164 [English translation, *Tyrants*, 140–1, 143, 159, 165, 184, 195–7, 199, 202, 214, 216].

[38] Kamp (1973–82), iii.1013–18, 1234. The Lincoln rumour: *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J.C. Robertson (London: Rolls Series, 7 vols., 1875–85), vii.26–9 no. 538.

[39] Kamp (1973–82), ii.745. Ralph of Diceto, *Ymagines Historiarum*, ed. W. Stubbs (London: Rolls Series, 2 vols., 1876), ii.37.

[40] White (1935), Southern (2001), 189. Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, MPL ccvii.204 no. 72, 291–3 no. 93, 390 no. 131.

[41] *Cod. Dip. Pugliese*, xxi.445. Kamp (1973–82), ii.919, shows that the theory that he was translated to the archbishopric of Reggio c. 1188 is unfounded.

There were, even on the island of Sicily, only a few native cler-
ics who could compete with these learned foreigners, and it took a
long time before the need for the latter was superceded. One notable
example of a well-educated native was Archbishop Walter of Palermo
(1169–90). We know very little about his origins, but it would seem
that his family was resident in Sicily, and did not belong to the aris-
tocracy. In Walter's case we can (for once) follow the steps by which
he rose within the hierarchy, as archdeacon of the chapter of canons
at the erstwhile royal mausoleum at Cefalù from 1156, and then
dean at Agrigento from 1167. William I appointed him tutor to his
sons, and this may suggest that he had attended the schools abroad,
rather than within the kingdom.[42] Later, as head of the government
in Palermo, he supported the studies of talented young men. Another
sign of Walter's intellectual interests was the dedication to him by
the Amalfitan Peter Capuanus (who later rose to be a cardinal) of
his commentary on the *Summa* of Peter Lombard.[43] Walter had two
successors who were linked to him; first of all, his brother Bartholomew
(died 1199/1200), notable as a preacher as well as an ecclesiastical
politician, and then Peter of Mazara (who died after 1204). The lat-
ter had been appointed to the court chapel through Walter's influence,
and according to Innocent III had been trained by him as an adopted
ecclesiastical son for his future tasks in the episcopate.[44]

Archbishop Romuald II of Salerno (1153–81) also deserves atten-
tion, not so much as a writer of history—indeed how much of the
world chronicle attributed to him he actually wrote himself has
recently been questioned—but rather because as a native, non-
Norman, prelate he symbolised the social integration of the new
state. Romuald came from a Lombard family, the Guarna, from the
civic aristocracy of Salerno, where his father was the chief judge and
strategus (town governor). As with Archbishop Alfanus I, the family
had the means to ensure that the son, destined for an ecclesiastical
career, received training in Salerno both in the arts and in medi-
cine, although how testing the former in particular was, measured
against the standards of northern Europe, is questionable. However,
Romuald went further than his predecessor Alfanus, in that the scope

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[42] Kamp (1973–82), iii.1112–19. Loewenthal (1972).

[43] Kamp (1973–82), iii.1114.

[44] Kamp (1973–82), iii.1119–22, 1125–7, 1147–51, 1174–6. Innocent III, *Reg.*
V.39, MPL ccxiv.996.

for his political role was greater. He became influential at court, not least through his medical skill, and was close to the king, as whose representative he took part in international negotiations.[45] Through those sections of the chronicle he wrote himself, and especially his account of the Venice peace conference of 1177, he became an indirect mouthpiece for the political ideas of the Sicilian court.[46] Romuald's relatives became part of the landed and office-holding nobility— which in the principality of Salerno was never exclusively Norman. Romuald's brothers, Philip, James and Lucas all held fiefs, while for almost two decades his cousin, Lucas Guarna (died before 1193) was one of the justiciars of William II. The latter's son Philip was granted the county of Marsico by the Emperor Henry VI in 1195.[47]

Only in exceptional cases did the Norman kings appoint clerics to administrative posts on the mainland. However, two prelates who did serve as justiciars were William of Ravenna, archbishop-elect of Capua 1135–7 and archbishop of Salerno 1137–52, and Bishop Leonard of Capaccio (1159–74), the latter in the time of William II.[48] From the mid-twelfth century onwards there is more evidence for close contact between the secular and ecclesiastical ruling classes. It is true that we do not find any relatives of the royal family as bishops, but links with the aristocracy are apparent. Fulco of Miglionico, a justiciar in the Basilicata in 1176, was a nephew of the archbishop of Acerenza.[49] Florius of Camerota, another royal justiciar, who held office for a very long period (between 1150 and 1189, if not quite continuously), was the nephew of Archbishop Alfanus of Capua (1153–80).[50] Meanwhile, the men of political and administrative talents who rose to high office in Palermo sought to enhance the status of their families, not only through intermarriage with the aristocracy but through obtaining bishoprics for their relations. Thus, Matthew of Salerno, royal vice-chancellor, *familiaris*, and for a time before his

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[45] See Garufi's introduction to *Romuald*, v–x, *Tyrants*, 51–3 and genealogical chart III, Loud (2000a), 280, 283.

[46] On the chronicle, see Hoffmann (1967), 142–70, Matthew (1981), 239–74, who stresses the composite nature of the work.

[47] *Cat. Bar. Commentario*, 128–9, 131, 150–2. Jamison (1913), 366, 368, Takayama (1993), 158. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, vii.504 (February 1196).

[48] Jamison (1913), 307, 365, 374–5, 409 no. 1, 415–16 nos. 13–14. Jamison (1957), 336.

[49] *Cat. Bar.* 26, art. 146. Jamison (1913), 347. The archbishop was probably Robert, attested in 1151, *Italia Pontificia* ix.458 no. 11.

[50] Jamison (1913), 365–7. Loud (1996), 337–8. *Tyrants*, 24, 153, 193.

death in 1193 chancellor, managed to obtain the see of Catania for his brother John (who died in the earthquake there in 1169), and to make his son Nicholas Romuald's successor at Salerno (he was archbishop there 1181–1222).[51]

Thus, while there was a (relatively small but highly visible) international element in the episcopate, and probably linked with the new intellectual culture then developing in north-western Europe, there was also a counter-movement, which brought the landed aristocracy not only into the military and administrative, but also the ecclesiastical, service of the monarchy. A striking example of this comes with the election of Archbishop Roger of Benevento in 1179, although one should of course note that this see was situated in a papal enclave within the kingdom. Roger was the direct successor of a learned foreigner, the canonist Lombardus of Piacenza. Lombardus had been a cardinal, although he had vacated his seat in the college when Alexander III had appointed him to Benevento in 1171. Roger too was given the title of cardinal, although he lacked the scholarship and the intellectual reputation of his predecessor. He began his career as a monk of Montecassino, although his family devoted their pious benefactions primarily at the newer monastic communities of Cava and Montevergine. However, what was more crucial than Roger's monastic training was his family background. He was a member of the Norman family of San Severino, who had been major landowners in the principality of Salerno since the time of Robert Guiscard. Under Roger II the family had attained comital rank. Among the archbishop's close relatives were the Counts of Caserta and Tricarico, among his more distant ones the counts of Avellino and Marsico. His father, William of San Severino, was the most powerful baron in the Cilento region, and for some years was one of the justiciars in the principality. His cousin Count Robert of Caserta was Master Justiciar of Apulia and Terra di Lavoro until his death in 1182, effectively the king's viceroy on the mainland. Roger's nephew James held this office shortly before 1220. The archbishop was therefore part of the highest social stratum in the kingdom.[52]

There are other aspects which space precludes us discussing here; such as the connections between the court chapel and the episcopate,

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[51] Peter of Blois, *Epistola* no. 46, MPL ccvii.133–4. Kamp (1973–82), i.425–32.

[52] Kamp (1973–82), i.203–8, Loud (1998), 305–7. On the S. Severino family, Portanova (1976b), Tescione (1990), 35–61, Loud (1996), 330–1.

or the increasingly isolated Greek bishops in Calabria. However, one can suggest a number of key influences on the episcopate during the period of the Norman kings. First, there were openings for learned ecclesiastics educated in the French schools, but without direct monastic links. Secondly, the shortage of suitable personnel for high ecclesiastical office was surmounted with the next generation of native clerics. Salerno, Palermo and Messina first emerged as educational centres. To these, some time later, can be added Capua, which achieved pre-eminence in this field in the early thirteenth century. However, there was no institution specifically established for the training of clerics. Finally, the secular and ecclesiastical ruling classes of the kingdom became intertwined through the recruitment into the episcopment of members of both the high nobility and the lesser baronage whose families were active in royal administrative service. At the same time, even in churches where the local tradition was dominant, such as Amalfi and Teramo, new ties with the political power were created through the despatch of members of the court chapel to serve as bishops.[53] Certainly the overall proportion of prelates to come from the cathedral chapters increased, especially in the smaller bishoprics, while the number of bishops who came from a monastic background fell. Bishops who had previously been in charge of either urban or rural monastic communities were, so far as can we can see, extremely rare.[54]

From 1189 to 1220

The crisis over the royal succession after 1189, the minority of Frederick II and the pontificate of Innocent III, and the king's absence in Germany until 1220 led to a new phase in the history of the south Italian episcopate, albeit one characterised by a number of conflicting tendencies. The seizure of power by Henry VI in 1194 was also a success for the aristocracy of the northern provinces of the kingdom, many of whom had opposed King Tancred. This section of the ruling class sought increased representation in the episcopate. We may cite three episcopal appointments from the nobility

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[53] E.g. Archbishop Robualdus of Amalfi (1170?–6), *Italia Pontificia*, viii.392 no. 16, and Dionisius, bishop of Teramo (1172–4/6) and Archbishop of Amalfi (1176–1202), Kamp (1973–82), i.50–1, 391–3.

[54] Loud (1982), 154–9.

of the northern frontier: the consecration of Walter of Pagliaria (died 1229/31) as bishop of Troia in 1189, the choice of Otto of Celano (died 1199) to be bishop of Penne in 1194, a diocese in which Otto's brother Count Berard of Loreto was the most powerful lay lord, and then the election of Rainald of Celano (died after 1212) to be archbishop of Capua in 1199.[55]

However, while the social and geographical origins of these three prelates were similar, their educational background was not. Otto of Celano was a Cassinese monk. Rainald of Celano was an able and active pupil of the rhetorical literary culture which was fostered both by the Curia and in Campania, and moreover he had served his apprenticeship in the papal chapel. Walter of Pagliaria had presumably had an appropriate education for high clerical office, but we do not where he may have received it. However, what all three had in common was their descent from the non-Norman comital aristocracy of the Abruzzi—in fact all three were related to each other.

The influence of this noble group increased further when Walter of Pagliaria was made royal chancellor by Henry VI, especially since Archbishop Berard of Messina (1196–c. 1226/7) probably also originated from this group.[56] Walter's own ambitions to secure the archbishopric of the capital, Palermo, foundered, although he was translated to the Sicilian bishopric of Catania in 1208.[57] He eventually ended his life in poverty and exile in 1229, but his influence can be seen in the careers of four other Abruzzi nobles. Berard of Castagna was archbishop of Bari from 1207, and was later, in 1213 translated to Palermo, where his archiepiscopate lasted until 1251.[58] Sanso of Aquaviva, archdeacon of Catania, acted as administrator of that see in the 1230s during the long vacancy after Walter's death, while the latter's relative Rainald of Aquaviva was dean, and then bishop, of Agrigento (1240–66). Finally Walter de Ocra, imperial chaplain and notary, and eventually chancellor of the kingdom (from 1251), was bishop-elect of Valva and then archbishop-elect of Capua in 1247, although he was never confirmed in office. His family had been followers of Walter of Pagliaria. This nexus of aristocratic protection within the episcopate shows the ambition of a section of the aristocracy

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[55] Kamp (1973–82), i.38–40, 112–16, ii.509–14.
[56] Kamp (1973–82), iii.1018–24.
[57] Kamp (1973–82), iii.1122–5, 1210–17.
[58] Kamp (1973–82), ii.576–81, iii.1129–37.

which had for a long time been outside the kingdom's central polit-
ical power structure (although one should note that under Frederick
II the Aquaviva family became increasingly active in the secular
administration of the kingdom).[59]

But along with this aristocratic reaction, we may also note a new
papal initiative to participate in the composition of the episcopate.
It is true that Innocent III and Honorius III no longer sent cardi-
nals to hold south Italian sees. Instead they sent members of their
spiritual *familia* and other junior members of the now enlarged Curia—
but fundamentally these people fulfilled the same functions as had
the cardinals who had been sent to the south by Urban II and
Paschal II. They both set strict standards in education and pastoral
work, and were a counter-balance to the enhanced power of the
nobility within the Church in a period of weak government that at
times verged on anarchy. They were also papal agents in a king-
dom whose political future was uncertain. Examples of papal chap-
lains and notaries in south Italian bishoprics include Philip of Troia
(1212–28) and Egidius of Gaeta (1203–10), both of whom had tried
to raise money for Otto IV, Innocent's preferred candidate for the
imperial throne, in Germany. Philip had also collected money for
the Crusade in England, and had been rector of Benevento. (He
held this last office a second time after becoming bishop).[60] Archbishop
Peregrinus of Brindisi (1216–22) had previously twice been a papal
envoy to the French court, first in an attempt to sort out the mar-
ital problems of Philip Augustus in 1205, and then in 1210/11 in
negotiations concerning the Welf invasion of the kingdom of Sicily.[61]
Such prelates had grown up in the fastidious ecclesiastical climate
of the Curia, possessed a Europe-wide level of experience, and
matched up to the exacting standards of Innocent III. They were
not in every case natives of the *regno*—for example Archbishop Obizo
of Cosenza (1230–41) was from Asti in Piedmont[62]—nor were all of
them from a similar social background, although the aristocracy were

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[59] Kamp (1973–82), i.70–1, 128–32, iii.1154–7, 1221–2. Andrea of Aquaviva was
Justiciar of the Terra d'Otranto 1240–1, another Rainald of Aquaviva was Podestà
in various north Italian towns and later (1240–1) Vicar General in Lombardy, and
Walter of Aquaviva served the emperor on Cyprus and later as Podestà in towns
in Emilia and the Marche between 1241 and 1247.
[60] Kamp (1973–82), i.82–4, ii.517–23. For Philip, also Loud (2000b), chap. X.8.
His consecration as bishop is recorded in *Cod. Dipl. Pugliese* xxi.364 no. 130.
[61] Kamp (1973–82), ii.668–9.
[62] Kamp (1973–82), ii.840–1.

certainly more powerfully represented than other groups among papal chaplains. But Peregrinus's relatives were later on judges and respected townsfolk in Brindisi, so it seems probable that his parents too were from the upper ranks of the burgess class.[63]

There were two contrasting aspects to a third development in this period, which concerned the role of monastic bishops. Even among those churches which possessed a monastic chapter, there was a tendency to move away from the choice or appointment of monastic bishops. In 1208, Walter of Pagliaria succeeded the last monastic bishop of Catania who served as abbot of the cathedral community. At Cefalù, where there was a chapter of Augustinian canons, the change had already occurred, in 1195. From then on, secular clerics filled the bishopric, first John of Cicala, brother to a count (died 1216), and then a royal notary, Aldoin (who died 1248). In 1221 this also happened at Patti, when James of Capua (died 1242/3), an imperial court chaplain, received the see.[64] But if the monastic tradition was elsewhere in retreat, even for those Sicilian sees where the composition of the chapter had almost invariably meant a monastic bishop, by contrast in Calabria it was alive and well. Indeed, there was a new monastic penetration into the Calabrian episcopate. Two of the metropolitan sees there were held by monks in the early thirteenth century: Cosenza with Lucas (1203–27), and Reggio Calabria a decade or so later with Gerald (died after 1216), the one a former monk, the other once the abbot, of the Cistercian monastery of Casamari. Their example, and the assistance given to their work by the papacy, developed new initiatives, even in the episcopate. Lucas of Cosenza acted as papal judge-delegate in the majority of electoral disputes in Calabria.[65] Five other Cistercians were elected to south Italian sees in the period 1200–1220, although Archbishop Lucas quashed the election of one of them, Abbot Pietro of S. Stefano del Bosco, to Squillace in 1217.[66]

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[63] Kamp (1973–82), ii.668.
[64] Kamp (1973–82), iii.1049–61, 1083–5, 1210. For a donation by John's brother, Paul of Cicala, Count of Collesano and Alife, to Cefalù cathedral (1205), *Rollus Rubeus. Privilegia Ecclesie Cephaleditane*, 106–9.
[65] Kamp (1973–82), ii.833–9, 922–5. Houben (1996), 299–317, gives a general survey of the monastic role in the episcopate in the Staufen period, with a valuable table on pp. 311–17.
[66] Houben (1996), 306, Kamp (1973–82), 987.

The rule of Frederick II

I shall here pass over the direct conflicts over Church appointments, which from 1221 onwards sowed such distrust between pope and emperor. I shall limit myself to the discussion of a single aspect of internal change in the episcopate. During the personal rule of Frederick II it remained the norm for bishops to come from either the aristocracy, or sometimes from the urban patriciate.[67] Thus two successive archbishops of Bari, Marinus (1226–51) and Enrico (1252–8) belonged to the Filangieri, a Norman family who had been vassals of the San Severino house, and which had a long tradition of service as royal officials, from the time of Roger II onwards. Under Frederick II members of the Filangieri family served as Marshal of the kingdom, acted as the emperor's governor in the kingdom of Jerusalem, and held a number of other senior posts.[68] But the example of the archbishops of Bari is an interesting one, because not just their aristocratic origin but also their educational background was significant.

Marinus Filangieri was before his elevation to the archbishopric known as 'the brother of the Marshal'—in other words his position in society was defined by his brother's function in the state. But not long before his election he was studying canon law in Bologna. There in 1224 he wrote glosses on the Apparatus of Ugolino, and looked after the manuscripts of a canon of Trani whom he had befriended.[69] We do not know whether his education was the factor which tipped the scales in his favour in the disputed election to the see, but this was certainly a possibility, as we can see from the successful career of another learned jurist, the Neapolitan Pietro Papparonus. In about 1220 he was a *doctor decretorum* in Bologna, and furnished legal advice to northern Italian communes in ecclesiastical cases. He was appointed by Frederick II as a teacher of canon law at the new University of Naples, and then became Archbishop of Brindisi (1231–48).[70] Expertise in canon law was becoming an important qualification for the episcopate, especially for the more important sees.

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[67] For a more extended discussion, Kamp (1977).

[68] Kamp (1973–82), 585–95. Riccardo Filangieri, the brother of Archbishop Marinus, was Marshal from 1224, and Frederick II's *bailli* in the Holy Land 1231–42. He was succeeded as Marshal by another brother, Giordano.

[69] *Cod. Dipl. Barese* i.170–1 nos. 91–2.

[70] Kamp (1973–82), ii.674–6.

The foundation of the University of Naples by Frederick II was important in an ecclesiastical as well as a secular context. For example, Pietro Papparonus had a pupil, Bartolomeo Pignatelli, who along with a number of other Neapolitans accompanied him to Brindisi. In 1239 Bartolomeo was appointed as a teacher of law back in the University of Naples.[71] In 1254 he was archbishop-elect of Amalfi, and then archbishop of Cosenza (1254–66) and of Messina (1266–70).[72] At the same time, about a generation after the foundation of the university, other Neapolitans filled south Italian archbishoprics: Marinus Filomarinus (1252–86) at Capua, Nicola Bonifacii (1254–63/6) at Conza, Giacomo Falcanarius (1259–70/1) at Siponto, and two successive archbishops of Naples, Berardo Caraczulus Rubeus (1252–62) and Dalphinas (died 1266).[73] These last three (Giacomo, Berardo and Dalphinas) all had masters' degrees, and they had all been papal chaplains; but in addition they were all learned jurists, each had served the pope as judges in the Curia, and two of them had been General Auditors.

This remarkable rise of the Neapolitans, a group which had until then not been particularly prominent within the episcopate, cannot be reconstructed in its entirety. However, its scale and concentrated chronology, and indeed the very fact that it occurred at all, suggests that we have here an ecclesiastical echo of the foundation of the University of Naples by Frederick II and the stimulating impetus this gave to the upper echelons of Neapolitan society. Thus, while there was no specific centre of the education of future bishops in Naples, the creation of the university gave the leading families of the city the opportunity to integrate themselves into the governing class of the kingdom, both ecclesiastical and secular.

Conclusion

We have here addressed only a few aspects of the prosopography of the episcopate in the Norman and Staufen eras. It is impossible to find a single, unifying feature for the episcopate as a whole—it was too large (given the great number of sees), and too varied, both

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[71] *Codice diplomatico brindisiano*, ed. G.M. Monti, i (Bari 1940), 88 no. 54.
[72] Kamp (1973–82), i.399–400, ii.849–53, iii.1037–41.
[73] Kamp (1973–82), i.133–9, 141–2, 323–9, ii.537–9, 747–8.

socially and in terms of its geographical origin—although, as John of Salisbury noted, in the time of Roger II (and no doubt later as well) the examination of candidates for bishoprics was carried out at the royal court, and clear criteria laid down, of *vita et scientia et condicio et nativitas*.[74] However, social origin gained in importance if it was linked with certain qualifications, with a monastic background (at least in the earlier part of the period), then increasingly with a literary and theological education, with a university training, or with the ethos of a new religious movement. Together with such qualifications, the aristocratic, knightly or otherwise socially elevated background (as, for example, from an urban patriciate) was the rule rather than the exception. Even in southern Italy, we find that a medieval aristocratic society was in a position to forge links from generation to generation with the contemporary religious authorities and to fulfil the spiritual requirements of the period. Thus, if we go a just little beyond our period, we may take as further examples the brothers Tommaso and Rainaldo of Lentini, Sicilian nobles who had entered the increasingly fashionable Dominican Order, and who were papal appointments to south Italian sees; Tommaso as Archbishop of Cosenza (1267–72) and subsequently Patriarch of Jerusalem (died 1277), Rainaldo as Bishop of Marsico (1267–74) and Archbishop of Messina (1274–87).[75] They were among the outstanding members of the southern Italian episcopate in the time of Charles of Anjou, but in them we can see the continuity of the aristocracy within the ecclesiastical ruling class of the *regno*.

However, the episcopate was at the same time a factor for social mobility in south Italian society, because education could make up for defects of birth, and social barriers could be overcome through personal achievement. Southern Italy was a world of small towns, and the social standing and representative function of the bishop, in a society in which the political régime had suppressed the comunal tradition, extended to his relatives as well. Indeed, it was consciously reciprocated by them in a sense which created a social tradition for the family, as they made the names *de episcopo* or *de archiepiscopo* their

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[74] *Historia Pontificalis*, 67.

[75] Kamp (1973–82), i. 464–6, ii.856–62, iii.1042. They were among 17 Dominicans who became bishops in the kingdom of Sicily between 1252 and 1274, Houben (1996), 317. The two brothers would seem not to have been related to another Dominican, Bartolomeo of Lentini, who was Bishop of Patti 1254–82, Kamp (1973–82), iii.1102–3.

surnames, a phenomenon which can be traced in a number of places in twelfth and thirteenth century southern Italy, and can often be associated with an identifiable prelate, as with the relatives of Archbishops Romuald I of Salerno (1121–36), Hugh of Siponto (1195–1210), Peregrinus of Brindisi (1216–22), and Giacomo of Capua (1227–42), and those of Bishop Andrea of Caserta (1221–40/1).[76] The self-consciousness of these rising families, expressed in such names in which their social position was linked to their relatives' offices, shows that, while the aristocracy remained an important element, the episcopate in the kingdom of Sicily was never as socially exclusive as, for example, that of Germany. Indeed, its wide social range could be neither reconciled nor brought into an ordered scheme either by the kingdom's rulers or by the papacy, although both were attempting, as a means of integration, to create larger solidarities.

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[76] Kamp (1973–82), i.122–4, 171–2, ii.533, 668. For Romuald's family, De Renzi (1857), appendix no. 80. For Hugh of Siponto's relative Giovanni *de archiepiscopo*, see *Le Colonie cassinesi in Capitanata* iv *Troia*, ed. T. Leccisotti (Miscellanea Cassinese 29, 1957), 108–9 no. 38, 111–12 no. 40 (both 1223).

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PART THREE

CALABRIA AND SICILY

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THE PAPACY AND THE GREEK CHURCH IN SOUTHERN ITALY BETWEEN THE ELEVENTH AND THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY[1]

Peter Herde

The process of estrangement between the Latin and the Greek churches was one which lasted for centuries and was not only caused by dogmatic differences but, to an even greater extent, by political disagreements, among which the position of the bishop of Rome in the Imperial church was a central issue. The papacy had been forced to resort to the protection and lordship of the eastern emperor in the turbulent migration-period, and in the years after Justinian it became the main imperial patriarchate of the West. Gregory the Great (590–604) began to steer it away from Byzantine dominance and a re-orientation of the papacy, which not only distanced the papacy from Byzantium but also directed it towards the Germanic peoples, began under his leadership and was to last for some two centuries. It led, finally, through the alliance of the Frankish rulers with the Roman Church, to the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor by Pope Leo III. Henceforth, the papacy, as head of the Latin Church, became a constant factor in the western Germanic-Roman world and, by virtue of the imperial coronation of 800, it became especially closely connected with the western emperor in a joint claim to universal power. This process was much accelerated by the Iconoclast controversy in the eighth century.[2] The battle that the Emperor Leo III fought against the Roman Church at this time particularly concerned southern Italy, where the papacy had for centuries owned great patrimonial estates which formed its most important source of income. In a re-organisation of the Imperial Church around the same period, all the ecclesiastical provinces inhabited by

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[1] A revised version of an essay first published in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* xxvi (1970), 1–46. An abbreviated version has already appeared in Italian as 'Il papato e la chiesa greca nell'Italia meridionale dall'XI al XIII secolo' in *La chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 apr.–4 magg. 1969)* I (Italia sacra 20, Padua 1973), 213–255. Translated from the German by Carine van Rhijn, Inge Lyse Hansen and the editors.

[2] See especially Herrin (1987), especially 344–476 for the impact of Iconoclasm.

Greeks were made subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, including many dioceses in the south of Italy, a region which had become increasingly Graecised since its reconquest by Narses in the mid-sixth century.[3] With the Lombard expansion into southern Italy during the second half of the eighth century and the conquest of Sicily by North African Muslims (from 827 onwards), the supremacy of Byzantium in southern Italy had, however, passed its zenith.

During the second half of the eighth and the ninth centuries, the Lombard principalities of Benevento and Salerno expanded far to the south and south-east into both Calabria and southern Apulia. They subjected these regions to their rule and law, introduced a Germanic ruling class, and Latinised the Church. Around the middle of the ninth century, the border with the area under Byzantine rule in Calabria ran from the Val di Crati, and south past Cosenza to Amantea.[4] The partitions of the second half of the tenth century led to a natural weakening of the Lombards' power to resist, but still the Byzantine attempts at reconquest were only moderately successful—the border with the Lombard-controlled areas moved only slightly to the north and, at the beginning of the eleventh century, it ran from the area round Acerenza to Cosenza. In the Salento peninsula ('old Calabria'), by the end of the eighth century, the Greeks retained control of only Gallipoli and Otranto. In 876, however, Bari surrendered to Eastern Rome for fear of the Muslims, and from that moment onwards eastern rule began to expand again in a slow reconquest that lasted over two decades, eventually reaching the line from Siponto to Taranto. In this way, the major part of Apulia reverted to Greek hands, but during the tenth and early eleventh centuries, Byzantine expansion made only a little further progress.[5] The re-organisation of the Byzantine administration at this period need not be discussed here.[6] It is more important in this context to remember that Byzantine rule needed to rely primarily on a Greek bureaucracy, on the Greek population and on the Greek Church, even though, as we shall see below, the Latin Church in Apulia had for a long time loyally surrendered itself to Byzantine rule. On the basis of both medieval and early modern sources, as

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[3] Herrin (1987), 349–52.

[4] Gay (1904), remains the best narrative account, see pp. 5–48 for the period up to the mid-ninth century, cf. Falkenhausen (1967), 5–6, Ménager (1958), 754–5.

[5] See Falkenhausen (1978), 5–19, 28–45, Loud (2000a), 14–29.

[6] The best summary is by Falkenhausen, (1978) 46–107, see also Loud (1988), 215–16, Loud (2000a), 29–37.

well as from linguistic evidence, we can gain quite a clear picture of the spread of the Greek-speaking population and hence of Greek customs, Greek law and the Greek rite.[7] There was a Greek-speaking population along the eastern and north-eastern coastline of Sicily—between Taormina-Messina and Naso (in the Val Demone)—which survived into the thirteenth and fourteenth century.[8] In Calabria, a Greek-speaking population existed in Aspromonte (even until recently, a small Greek-language community survived around Bova) and, even in the thirteenth century, this extended into the plain beyond Aspromonte and into the present provinces of Cantanzaro and Cosenza.[9] The third Greek-speaking region was the Salento peninsula south of the line Taranto-Brindisi.[10] In this area too, the Greek language survives to the present day in a few places around Calimera (south of Lecce). Furthermore, there were of course colonies of Greek immigrants in ports such as Taranto, Brindisi, Bari and Trani. During the period discussed here, the total size of the Greek population in southern Italy has been estimated at c. 50,000 although this figure is admittedly based upon some very uncertain calculations.

The Greek Church of southern Italy relied on two supports, a Greek-speaking population and a Greek administration. Of course, the expansion of the Greek Church did not coincide with the expansion of Byzantine rule. As we have noted, the Church in Apulia had become Latinised with the Lombard conquest in the eighth century, and the Byzantines left this Latin Church untouched after their reconquest of the area. Though papal jurisdiction in Apulia had been more or less abolished in the tenth century, the Latin rite and Latin canon law endured and, in contrast to those of Calabria and Sicily, the Apulian bishoprics do not feature in Greek catalogues of dioceses. The Latin Church in Apulia was therefore only subject to Byzantium politically, while the Byzantines managed to keep the bishops on their side by raising their status.[11]

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[7] The fundamental work is still that of Rodotà, (1758–63). The best linguistic research is still provided by Gerhard Rohlfs, see especially Rohlfs (1974), and (1962). Details of the numerous other works by Rohlfs up to 1958 can be found in Bihl (1958), 522 ff. See among many other works Caratzas (1958), Guillou, (1963), 53 ff.; Giannelli (1963), 307 ff. and Spano (1965). An excellent synthesis of the research in this field (with many source and bibliographical references) is given in Hofmann (1994).

[8] Rohlfs (1974), 91–106, Falkenhausen (1977b), 135 ff., Peri (1978), 64–7.

[9] Rohlfs (1974), 17–74.

[10] Rohlfs (1974), 75–89.

[11] See now especially Holtzmann (1960), Falkenhausen (1978), 169–72, Martin

As far as the relationship between the papacy and the Greek Church in southern Italy during the tenth century is concerned (the latter represented chiefly by Greek monasticism), we have only to look at the figure of St. Nilos of Rossano to demonstrate how friendly such relations could be. Greek monasticism had an undoubted influence on the Italian eremitic movement, which in turn played a role in the eleventh-century movement for church reform.[12]

With the first appearance of the Normans in southern Italy around the year 1000, a new era began in the history of that region. Their presence affected the relations between the pope and the Greek Church in the south of Italy, even though these 'romanised' Normans from Northern France had been called in by the Lombard rulers, and probably not by Pope Benedict VIII.[13] From that time onwards, the relationship between the papacy and the Greeks in southern Italy would be conditioned by the interaction between the papacy, the Normans and Byzantium. The first period in these relations to be discussed here falls in the time of the movement for Church reform. It was only after the final Norman expulsion of the Byzantines from Apulia and Calabria (around 1080), and the completion of the reconquest of Sicily from the Muslims in 1091, that the popes entered into direct contacts with the remnants of the Greek Church in southern Italy. This was the era of the great rise of the medieval papacy, with the standardisation of liturgy and canon law, and the beginnings of papal centralisation. It was therefore an unfavourable time for the survival of this vestigial Greek Church. In addition, there had been the breach between Rome and Byzantium in 1054. Though the latter event was merely the result of a long process of estrange-

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(1993), 563–9, 572, 585, 626. Loud (2000a), 37–40. Details of the extensive bibliography (to 1969) on the Greek church in southern Italy (including the Italian version of this paper) can be found in *La chiesa greca in Italia dal VIII al XVI secolo. Atti del convegno storico interecclesiale (Bari, 30 apr.– 4 magg. 1969)*, 3 vols. (Italia sacra 20–22; 1973). For the Byzantine cave churches see Fonseca, Bruno, Ingrosso &. Marotta (1979), as well as the *Atti* of the six conferences held on the *civiltà rupestre* of the medieval *Mezzogiorno*, edited by C.D. Fonseca (1975–1986), and Dalena (1990). The best guide to the Greek and Latin monasteries of Apulia and the Basilicata (with extensive source and bibliographical references) is *Monasticon Italiae* iii *Puglia e Basilicata*, ed G. Lunardi, H. Houben, G. Spinelli (1986).

[12] Borsari (1963), 56–60, Loud (1994b), 38–41. The often noted influence of south Italian Greek monks on the Italian ascetic movement, and consequently on church reform, merits further research. Some scholars consider such influence to be minimal, for example Tabacco (1965), 111–12.

[13] Cf. Hoffmann (1969), 95 ff., but see now Loud (2000a), 60–6.

ment (the importance of which has been over-rated by modern schol-
ars), it was nevertheless not conducive to creating an atmosphere of
brotherhood between the Eastern and Western Churches during the
decades that followed. It should, moreover, be remembered that these
relations were dependent on the policy of southern Italy's Norman
conquerors, who could to a great extent change them as they wished,
for better or worse. However, papal and Norman policies towards
the Greek Church in southern Italy were by no means always identical.

The oath of allegiance sworn in 1059 by Robert Guiscard to Pope
Nicholas II can be taken as a starting point. Among other things in
his oath, Robert undertook to transfer to papal rule all the churches
and their property in his dominions, and to protect them in his alle-
giance to the Roman Church. At first sight, it seems as if these
events of 1059, which legalised the Norman conquests, both past
and planned for the future, also surrendered the Greek Church in
southern Italy to Latinisation. Furthermore, a phrase similar to that
in the oath of 1059 was repeated in the oath Robert swore to Pope
Gregory VII in 1080.[14] Certainly the expulsion of the Byzantines
from Apulia and Calabria and the Norman conquest of Sicily led
eventually to the romanisation of the Greek Church in these regions,
but this was a long and complex process. Its origins cannot thus be
traced back automatically to the oath of allegiance of 1059. Scholars
in the past have indeed drawn this conclusion from the oath, and
at times even gone so far as to maintain that the popes had demanded
a rapid re-Latinisation of the Church in Calabria from the Normans,
and only adopted caution for tactical reasons. But it has recently
(and quite correctly) been pointed out that such an interpretation
oversimplifies matters.[15] On the one hand the wording of the oath
does not expressly mention the Greek church. On the other, even
if it did not deal exclusively with the predominantly Latin church
of Apulia, now of course once again closely linked to the papacy, it
left open the possibility of the survival of the remains of the Greek
church, insofar as this was subject to the ultimate authority of the
bishop of Rome (and on more than one occasion in the following

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[14] *Liber Censuum*, i.422, ii.93–4 [English trans., Loud (2000a), 188–9]. Gregory VII,
Reg. VIII.1b, pp. 515–16.
[15] Holtzmann (1961), 70. For older views, von Heinemann (1894), 183–4, Kehr
(1934), 13, and Pontieri (1948), 149 [although this was not repeated in the 2nd ed.
(1964), 179–80]. On the oath generally, see Deér (1972), especially 59–75, and Loud
(2000a), 186–94, and on policy towards the Greeks, Loud (2000a), 229–31, 267–8.

period the Norman rulers of southern Italy proved themselves to be
less than faithful sons of the Holy Father). In the centuries that fol-
lowed, the Greek Church in southern Italy remained dependent on
the power-play between Rome, Byzantium and southern Italy, although
this did not always leave direct and traceable effects on what was
left of this Church. It also depended on the personal attitude of indi-
vidual Norman rulers, who by no means always followed a uniform
policy towards the Greeks living within their realm. That neither
these rulers nor the popes from the outset systematically undertook
to Latinise the Greek Church is evident, because part of this Church
survived for several centuries, always in those places where it had
been firmly rooted in the population during the eleventh century.
To simplify a little, one may suggest that the Norman rulers of main-
land southern Italy, whose centre of power was in Apulia, followed
a policy of aggression towards Byzantium. They were therefore less
likely to be favourably disposed towards the remnants of the Byzantine
Empire in the south of Italy than their compatriots who resided on
Sicily, and who were not in direct confrontation with Byzantium.
Indeed, the latter even supported, for a time, what little remained
of the Greek Church there. Robert Guiscard belonged to the first
group. He drove the Byzantines from the mainland in a series of
campaigns, and subsequently crossed to attack the Byzantine terri-
tories on the other side of the Adriatic. Hence one should not expect
him to have had much sympathy for the Greeks. His policy was
later followed by his son Bohemond, who became an uncompromising
enemy of the Basileus Alexios I Komnenos due to his territorial
ambitions in the Holy Land after the First Crusade. Roger I of Sicily,
and in particular his son and successor, Roger II, belonged to the
second group. At the start of his rule, when it was still limited to
Sicily and southern Calabria, Roger II continued his father's policy
towards the Byzantine Church. This phase lasted until after his
takeover of the mainland, and until he had acquired the royal crown
by making use of the Anacletan schism. His rule over the Church
in southern Italy was then strengthened by the far-reaching concessions
made to him by the popes in the treaties of Mignano and Benevento.
As a consequence, he no longer needed the Greek clergy to counter-
balance papal claims and thus abandoned his initially positive attitude
towards the remnants of the Greek Church in his realm.[16]

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[16] Caspar (1904), 346–54, Holtzmann (1928), White (1938), 29–46, Scaduto (1947),
19–68, Holtzmann (1961), 70–1, Houben (1997), 75–6.

It stands to reason that the Norman conquerors, who with their followers only formed a tiny minority among the mass of the indigenous population, would prefer to give bishoprics and important monasteries to clerics from their homeland during this re-organisation of the Church. However, only on Sicily could this process be carried through from the very beginning, since only scattered remnants of the Greek Church had survived Muslim rule there.[17] Only in the Val Demone did a substantial Greek population remain, and it was therefore the Greek monasteries of this region that were concentrated around the monastery of the Holy Saviour of Messina. This monastery, founded by Roger I, was much favoured and elevated to the position of archimandrate by Roger II in 1131, and as a Greek centre it has left clear traces in language and culture down to the modern age.[18] In Palermo in 1072, the conquerors found a Greek archbishop by the name of Nicodemus, who was active from a small chapel next to the cathedral (by then converted into a mosque), and whom the Normans allowed to retain his office.[19] Pope Alexander II was not anti-Greek, and he confirmed this Greek archbishop in his ministry.[20] Without a large Greek community, however, the archbishop must have been rather isolated during the creation of an organised Latin Church, something which was soon underway. His successor as archbishop of Palermo, Alcherius, was clearly a Latin.[21] From that time on, Palermo would be a Latin archbishopric, as were the bishoprics springing up on the island in the course of the reorganisation of the Church, most of which were filled by clerics and monks from France. In this endeavour, Roger I worked hand-in-hand with Pope Urban II. Considering that the Greek Church had been largely eliminated by the Muslims, and that a reconstruction of the church was undertaken by Latin Christians, it was natural

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[17] Caspar (1904), 8–12, White (1938), 34–7, Scaduto (1947), 47–62.

[18] Caspar (1904), 101–3, White (1938), 45–6, Scaduto (1947), 165–92. For the significance of the monastery of the Holy Saviour, see also Hofmann (1994), 132–9.

[19] Caspar (1904), 597–8.

[20] Though the privilege no longer exists, it was cited by Calixtus II in his privilege of April 2nd 1123, MPL clxiii.1279.

[21] That Alcherius was not a Greek is clear from a privilege of Gregory VII of April 1083, L. Santifaller, *Quellen und Forschungen zum Urkunden- und Kanzleiwesen Papst Gregors VII.*, I. Teil (Studi e Testi 190, Vatican City, 1957), 252 no. 212. That Alcherius signed his name in Greek does not contradict this, for it may have been written by one of his Greek clerics. Moreover, it was then, as later in the twelfth century, not extraordinary to be bilingual. Roger II, after all, had his charters signed in Greek.

that the result was a Church organisation according to the Latin model. No anti-Greek tendencies on the part of either the Pope or Roger I can be inferred from this.

On the mainland, as we have seen, the Church of Apulia had remained Latin even under Greek rule and its bishops had not been made subject to the patriarch of Constantinople. The Byzantine administration had competed for loyalty of the Latin bishops, sometimes trying to win them over through the grant of archiepiscopal titles, and indeed finding some friends and opportunists among them, like Archbishop John of Trani, who played a part in the schism of 1054 and was later deposed by Alexander II in 1063.[22] Although the ecclesiastical re-organisation of the Capitanata by the Catepan Basil Boiannes took place with the agreement of Popes John XIX and Benedict IX, relations were even in this case dependent primarily on political rather than ecclesiastical factors.[23] Both during and after the Norman conquest the reforming popes on occasion took firm action in Apulia. Alexander II's deposed the bishops of Lucera, Tertiveri, Biccari and Ascoli-Satriano, probably for infringing the norms imposed by the reformers, and in particular their prohibition of simony, the presence of which is hardly surprising after decades of political intrigue under Byzantine rule.[24] Nevertheless, these actions by the reforming papacy were not a sign of any intrinsic enmity against the Greek Church in southern Italy—and indeed the bishops in question were Latins.

The situation in the most southerly part of Apulia, the Salento peninsula, were somewhat different. Here, the presence of a strong Greek population had also led to a Greek church-organisation and in 968 Byzantium had made Otranto a metropolitan see.[25] This new see lacked Latin-style suffragan bishops, but so too did the Latin archdioceses in Apulia, Bari and Trani, for which only later, and thanks to the Greeks, were Latin suffragan sees created.[26] In the Salento, for instance at Gallipoli, elements of Greek ritual survived into the sixteenth century. There were many Greek cave-churches and monasteries in this area, into which the Greek bishops and cler-

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[22] Schmid (1977), 187–95.
[23] Holtzmann (1960) especially 32–3.
[24] *Italia Pontificia* ix.145, 148, 156, 227. Loud (1992), 47.
[25] Liutprand of Cremona, *Legatio*, c. 62, *Die Werke von Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. J. Becker (3rd ed., MGH, SRG, 1915), 209, Gay (1904), 350–3, *Italia Pontificia*, ix.408.
[26] *Italia Pontificia* ix.289, 315–16, 408.

ics presumably withdrew after the Norman conquest, and Greek script remained in use for a long time—even for texts in the local dialect.[27] Of course, even in the Salento the Latin clergy gained ground. In Otranto, there was still a Greek archbishop, Hypatios, in 1054, and probably in 1066 when he participated in a synod at Constantinople, but a year later a Latin archbishop is recorded.[28] In Lecce, Bishop Theodore, for whom we have evidence till 1101, was probably a Greek; however, the list of bishops for this diocese during the twelfth century has so many *lacunae* that we can say little about the dominant rite then.[29] At Taranto, the Greek population had increased in relation to the Lombard one under Byzantine rule in the tenth and eleventh centuries, although we have no detailed information as to the proportion between the two groups.[30] Here there were indeed Greek clerics, though the see, raised to archiepiscopal rank by the Byzantines in the tenth century, was led by Latin archbishops to whom the Greek clergy were made subject.[31] There was a similar situation at Brindisi.[32]

In Calabria, matters were more complicated. Here, the metropolitan organisation was of Greek origin. For the twelfth century, sources are so scarce that in many cases one cannot determine when the Latin rite replaced the Greek in individual dioceses.[33] It is, however, undoubted that Greek clergy and rites still survived in a number of bishoprics, notably Santa Severina, Rossano, Oppido, Crotone, Gerace and Bova, as well as in many monasteries, well into the thirteenth century, and in some cases even later. On the other hand, the former

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[27] Rodotà (1758–63), i.373 ff., Batiffol (1891), xxvii ff., Scaduto (1947), 45–7, Holtzmann (1961b), 44 *et seq.*, *Italia Pontificia*, ix.428. A excellent insight into the Greek culture of the Terra d'Otranto in the first half of the thirteenth century is provided by Hoeck & Loenertz (1965), and the material presented by Peri (1967), 129 ff., on the continuity of the Greek rite in the Salento peninsula in the second half of the sixteenth century, is especially interesting; see especially the memoranda of 1577, *ibid.*, 239 ff. For literary texts, see Gigante (1953).

[28] Scaduto (1947), 21 n. 6, 46. Scaduto believes that the rite, despite Latin archbishops, remained Greek. See also *Italia Pontificia*, ix.409, Girgensohn (1973), 38, Kamp (1977), 173.

[29] *Italia Pontificia*, ix.422–3.

[30] Falkenhausen (1968), 149–52.

[31] *Italia Pontificia*, ix.434–5, Falkenhausen (1968), 153–9.

[32] *Italia Pontificia*, ix.383–4.

[33] Overview provided by Rodotà (1758–63), i.401 ff., Scaduto (1947), 37–45, Holtzmann (1994), 73, *Le 'Liber visitationis' d'Athanase Chalkéopoulos (1457–58)*, ed. M.H. Laurent & A. Guillou (Studi e Testi 206, Vatican City 1960), xxxiv ff. For Bova, Holtzmann (1956b), 29–34, Kamp (1973–82), ii.937–8.

Greek metropolitan see of Reggio had already passed into Latin
hands by 1079, and an archbishop called William can be attested
1082–6.[34] Consequently, the Greek metropolitan Basil, who had been
installed and consecrated by Kosmas I, the patriarch of Constantinople,
was prevented from taking possession of his see. He clashed with
the Pope at a synod convened by Urban II at Melfi in September
1089, when the latter filled the then vacant archbishopric with a
cardinal (and former monk from Marmoutier) called Rangerius. A
letter sent by Basil to the patriarch of Constantinople shortly afterwards
casts an interesting light on the relations between the papacy and
the surviving Greek Church in southern Italy.[35] Basil wrote that he
had not been permitted to take up his office in Reggio, and we can
assume with reasonable certainty that it was Robert Guiscard who
prevented his landing at Brindisi. At the synod of Melfi, Basil agitated
for his installation but clashed with the pope, because the latter
accused him of having been ordained by the patriarch of Constan-
tinople, and thus uncanonically. According to the ancient canons,
only the bishop of Rome was competent to consecrate other Italian
bishops. Basil contested this and refused to submit to the pope. How-
ever, the Greek metropolitans of Santa Severina and Rossano acknowl-
edged Urban II's claims, and were allowed to keep their sees.[36]

This was undoubtedly a decisive point in the relations between
the papacy and the Greek Church that survived in southern Italy,
even if the issues do not always come to the fore as clearly as they
do in this case. Greek bishops and clergy were allowed to retain
their offices and their rite, provided that they publicly, or even tac-
itly, acknowledged the papal prerogative to consecrate all the bish-
ops of Italy, and hence his primatial position. This claim was at that
time contested because of the title of ecumenical patriarch born by
the patriarch of Constantinople.[37] Later, as we shall shortly see, the

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[34] Holtzmann (1928), 84, Scaduto (1947), 38. *Italia Pontificia*, x.20.

[35] Holtzmann (1928), 102 no. 4.

[36] Holtzmann (1928), 85–6, Holtzmann (1961a), 73. For Basil, see also Stiernon
(1964). For the preceeding period, Giannelli (1963), 147 ff. For the then Archbishop
Romanos of Rossano, Mattei-Cerasoli (1919), 327.

[37] The most important papal documents concerning the Greeks and other east-
ern Christians are usefully collected in the volumes of the *Pontificia commissio ad redi-
gendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes*, series III vols. i–v (1943–54), which will
be frequently cited in what follows [henceforth *Fontes*]. For the issue of the primacy,
see the letters of Leo IX in January 1054, *ibid.*, i.780–2 nos. 371–2, and Alexander
III in 1168, especially i.805 no. 391. The high-point of these papal claims was
reached under Innocent III, especially *ibid.*, ii.187–95 nos. 9–10 (to the Patriarch
of Constantinople and the Emperor Alexius III, 12th and 13th November 1199).

Greek bishops had to swear an explicit oath of allegiance to the Roman Church before their consecration. However, the papacy never sought systematically to enforce a Latinisation of the Greek Church. Where the Church had once been Latin, it of course remained so after the Norman conquest. In areas in which the ecclesiastical hierarchy had to be built up from scratch, as on the island of Sicily, the hierarchy likewise became Latin. During the first wave of conquest, some Greek bishops in areas with a Greek population, like Otranto, Reggio, Amantea, and somewhat later Tropea and Squillace, were replaced by Latin ones.[38] Thereafter, the position of the vestigial Greek Church consolidated, and wherever it had roots in a numerically strong Greek population it survived, sometimes right down to the sixteenth century. Even where Latin prelates replaced Greek ones, as at Reggio, the Greek rite survived in other churches in the diocese. In 1094, after the death of the Greek Archbishop Romanos of Rossano, who had submitted to Pope Urban at Melfi in 1089, Duke Roger Borsa attempted to appoint a Latin successor. However, he was frustrated by the resistance of the local population, and had to acknowledge a Greek archbishop.[39] Since the Greek Church in southern Italy had to a great extent been cut off politically from Constantinople, even if as we shall see the link was not completely broken,[40] it was inexorably doomed slowly to wither away. In the long run, assimilation into the predominate Latin environment could not be avoided, nor did this need any direct pressure from the papacy or lay rulers. Many Greek monasteries withered away at a very early date for lack of monks. The monastic church of St. Maria della Roccella (Roccelletta), near Catanzaro, which was probably only built after the Norman conquest, and at an enormous size for a Greek monastery, decayed quite soon after 1100 because there were no monks to staff it.[41] The very last stages of this process are clear from the visitation report of Athanasios Chalkeopulos in 1457–58.[42] Given such circumstances it is astonishing that Greek clergy and the Greek rite had managed to survive in individual places for so long.

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[38] Scaduto (1947), 40–2, Holtzmann (1961a), 75, Loud (2000a), 267–8.

[39] *Malaterra*, IV, 22, p. 100. Cf. Scaduto (1947), 42.

[40] Hoeck-Loenertz (1965) 30 ff., Russo (1957), 29 ff. In the thirteenth century the south Italian bishops often served the popes as negotiator with Byzantium, cf. *Fontes*, iii.44 no. 25, Scaduto (1947), 43. For Nicholas of Durazzo, see below p. 000.

[41] Schwarz (1942–44), 13 ff., Monardo (1964).

[42] See above note 33, and also Russo, (1962), 117 ff.

A fact that aided the Greek Christians in this was that the papacy largely tolerated their rites and canon law, even if at times unwillingly, and despite some occasionally vociferous criticism.[43] Generally, the attitude of the twelfth-century papacy was far from unfriendly towards the remnants of the Greek Church in southern Italy. In his collection and examination of the very many twelfth-century papal charters written for southern Italian recipients, Walter Holtzmann found just one expression of anti-Greek sentiment, which was contained in a privilege of Paschal II, written in 1110 for the bishopric of Squillace, a see which had been filled by Latin bishops since 1097, and which proclaimed that 'the tyrannical invasion of the Greeks has ceased, both in that see and in the other churches of Calabria'.[44] This is somewhat of an exaggeration since a Greek *invasio* had occurred in many other Calabrian bishoprics at this time, and indeed it would continue to occur in the following centuries. The expression gives a snapshot of a situation which may have been caused by Bohemond's anti-Greek propaganda.[45] It can be justifiably asserted that a peaceful symbiosis of Latin and Greek churches took place in the course of the twelfth century, as the papacy had respected ancient local ecclesiastical traditions in other cases, too.[46] In any event, knowledge of the Greek rite on the part of the papal curia in the West was generally not very profound. Only in 1204, with the Crusaders' conquest of Byzantium and the foundation of a Latin Empire in Constantinople, was the papacy confronted with many details of Greek rite and Greek canon law. Henceforth, the remains of the Greek Church in southern Italy would be only of secondary importance in the relations between Rome and the Orthodox Church. The great majority of papal letters, from Innocent III onwards, about the Greeks concerned the churches of the Eastern Mediterranean, and the Greek Church in southern Italy stood in the shadow of the relationships between the papacy and the eastern patriarchates.[47]

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[43] Thus Alexander III to the Latin archbishop of Ragusa in December 1167, *Fontes*, i.805 no. 390: 'You have, so we understand, the intention and the desire to avoid (insofar as you can) the Greek rite, which seems to contradict the custom of the Roman Church in many ways, and you wish to replace it with our practices. We hold this to be both acceptable and welcome'.

[44] *Italia Pontificia*, x.60–1 no. 11.

[45] Cf. the letter of Bohemond to Pascal II on his dispute with Emperor Alexios Komnenos of September 1106, ed. Holtzmann (1933), 280–2.

[46] As does Holtzmann (1961a), 76.

[47] On this see De Vries (1963), 32–47, De Vries (1965), 87 ff.

However, the results and strains that followed from the dogmatic and canonistic controversies between them were relevant for Greek southern Italy, albeit in a diluted form.

The pontificate of Innocent III did mark a substantial change. The opinions on papal primacy which he vigorously propagated were unacceptable to the Greeks.[48] The controversy which flared up over this problem was however of minor importance to the south Italian Greek Church, since it had been 'united' (to use later terminology) with Rome for a long time and the spiritual primacy of the pope was hardly still a matter for debate. To Innocent, the Greeks were schismatics and even heretics (mainly because of the *filioque* clause), who had separated themselves from the only true Church, even though not yet definitively and formally.[49] In the eyes of the pope, it was absolutely necessary that the Greeks return to obedience to the Roman Church in order for the schism to end[50]—but this meant that all real attempts at union were doomed to fail. Innocent was also following trends towards Latinisation which were visible, at least for a while, even in Byzantium.[51] Of course, at the Fourth Lateran Council he actually confirmed the principle of tolerating the customs and rites of the Greeks, insofar as they accorded with what the Latins considered to be Divine commandment. This principle had indeed been in force in southern Italy for a long time, and the pope may well have had it in mind during the conciliar deliberations. Innocent however limited the principle by stating that one should not give way to the Greeks in matters that would endanger the salvation of souls or undermine ecclesiastical integrity.[52] In the question of the azyme, the pope left Greek custom as it was, though here too he preferred

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[48] Detailed by De Vries (1965), esp. 91 ff. See also Hoeck-Loenertz (1965), 30 ff., 41 ff.

[49] Maccarrone (1964), 253. Sayers (1994), 185–6.

[50] Cf. Conc. Lat. IV c. 4. Further Tillmann, (1980), 266, De Vries (1965) 105ff.

[51] See his letter of 25th May 1205, *Fontes*, ii.303 no. 81. Further De Vries (1965), 112. During the organisation of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, he ordered the patriarch Thomas Morosini on 2nd August 1206 to tolerate the Greek rite where there were no other options, and only up onto the moment that the pope took a decision on the matter, *Fontes*, ii.319 no. 91. Discussed by Wolff (1948), 34–5.

[52] Conc. Lat. IV c. 4: 'by sustaining their [i.e. the Greeks'] customs and rites, inasmuch as we can [do this] with the Lord; however, in these matters we do not wish, nor ought we, to tolerate those things which place souls in peril and detract from ecclesiastical integrity'. This refers in first instance to the question of celibacy and of clerical ordination, the Greek customs for which had already been limited or abandoned by the popes in the twelfth century.

the unleavened bread which Christ had used at the last supper.[53] Similarly, Pope Gregory IX later acknowledged the use of leavened bread in the celebration of the Eucharist, and in his opinion both kinds of bread were transubstantiated into the body of Christ.[54]

The ninth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council gave definitive written form to principles that would thereafter also be binding for the relations between the Greek and Latin Churches in southern Italy. Only one bishop could head any diocese, be he a Latin or a Greek. In those dioceses where Latins and Greeks lived alongside one another, the bishops were to put suitable clerics at the disposal of each group.[55] These clerics were to celebrate services according to the respective rites in the various languages, dispense sacraments and teach their flocks by word and example. If necessary, bishops were allowed at times to appoint a prominent member of the other ecclesiastical community (*catholicus presul*) as vicar for the pastoral care of members of the other church. This person, however, owed obedience and subjection to the bishop for, as was mentioned above, under no circumstances could there be two bishops at the head of one diocese.[56] In case of contravention, the conciliar canon threatened excommunication and deposition. This decree was of course aimed also at those Greek bishops who had initially coexisted with the Latin bishops, but who had subsequently withdrawn to minor sites or to cave-churches, and operated as it were underground, as we see above all in the Terra d'Otranto. It is clear from the statutes of the Synod of Melfi in 1284, right at the end of the period discussed here, that the decrees of 1215 regarding these aspects of pastoral care were not always observed. The proceedings of this synod

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[53] Cf. Innocent's work *De sacro altaris mysterio libri VI*, l. IV c. 34, MPL ccxvii. 878. Also Tillmann (1980), 264–5, De Vries (1965) 114, and more generally Beck (1959), 318–19. On the dispute regarding the azyme after the establishment of the Latin patriarchs of Constantinople see Hoeck-Loenertz (1965), 38 ff. Cardinal Benedict then finished the controversy by deciding as Innocent III had done that both customs were pleasing to God.

[54] *Fontes*, iii.267 no. 193.

[55] The most important criterion for belonging to one of both groups is language, which has always been the most significant dividing element between various populations. Conc. Lat. IV c. 9: 'Since in many parts within the same city and diocese peoples of different languages are mixed together'. Difference in language had of course also liturgical and pastoral implications.

[56] Conc. Lat. IV c. 9 = IV Comp. 1. 13. 2 = X 1. 31. 14 [On the system of canon law citations, and for the canonists mentioned below, see Brundage (1995), 190–230, Editors].

stated that some abbots and other religious persons entrusted with Latin churches and Latin flocks had out of greed failed to respect the canon of 1215, and had appointed Greek priests, because the latter were content with a smaller stipend. Latin parishioners could therefore not follow the service. Under the threat of automatic suspension of those in charge of such churches, the cardinal legate, Gerard, had no choice but force obedience to the relevant provisions of the Fourth Lateran Council.[57]

Honorius III, a pope prone to compromises, allowed the Greek Bishop John of Crotone to hold services in both Latin and Greek, providing that by this no precedent be established either for his Church, in which the Greek rite was still dominant, or for the Greek canons.[58] It is explicitly stated in the relevant letter that the bishop should master both Latin and Greek. Hence we can see that even in a Greek environment, Latin was making headway and slowly replacing the Greek rite. A conscious policy of Latinisation by the Latin Church and by the secular rulers connected to it was unnecessary—in a Latin-Roman environment the isolated Greek rite was forced gradually to assimilate with the Latin, until it was eventually completely subsumed—a trend also known from Greek liturgical manuscripts.[59] The papal letter cited above represents an intermediate stage in this development; the Greek bishop had learnt Latin and was able to hold services according to both rites. At Crotone, it took little more than half a century before the Greek rite completely disappeared. The last Greek bishop, Nicholas of Durazzo, served Popes Alexander IV and Urban IV as an envoy to Michael VIII Palaiologos and played an important role in the literary controversies between the Eastern and Western Churches, until Clement IV suspected him of adhering to 'the heresy of the Greeks' and deposed him. He fled to the Byzantine imperial court, only to return when negotiations

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[57] Herde (1967), 48, cl. 4, cf. *ibid.*, 29.

[58] *Fontes*, iii.26 no. 8 = D. Taccone-Gallucci, *Regesti dei Romani Pontefici per la chiesa della Calabria* (Rome 1902), 115 no. 92, of 9th April 1217. Cf. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* ix.384. John served the pope in 1218 as emissary to Theodore Dukas: *Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed., P. Pressutti, 2 vols. (Rome 1888–1895), nos. 1024, 1029. In September 1220 the pope gave him permission to leave his bishopric in order to enter a monastery (*votum artioris vite*: *Fontes* ii.101 no. 72. On him, Kamp (1973–82), ii.956-7.

[59] Even before the Norman conquest some educated Greeks knew Latin, like the Italo-Greek who left behind many commentaries (Archbishop Nicholas of Reggio ?); cf. Giannelli (1963), 147 ff., 321. Further Kamp (1973–82), ii.956 n. 11.

relating to a union were given new life under Gregory X.[60] A sim-
ilar development took place in Rossano.[61] Possibly in order to slow
down the threat of Latinisation, a group of Greek canons had in
1218 elected a Greek judge called Basil to be archbishop, although
he was accused of being married, of having imposed corporal pun-
ishment on several occasions, and of never having been ordained.
The archbishop-elect was further accused of having disregarded the
Ember Days for ordinations and having himself received all the
orders up to that of deacon in a single day.[62] Other Greek canons
complained about this to the pope.[63] Honorius III then commissioned
the Latin archbishop of Cosenza to look into the matter. If the com-
plaints of the canons were found to be justified, he was to declare
the Greek's election to be invalid. The archbishop of Santa Seve-
rina had even consecrated him according to the Greek rite, for which
he was called to account to the Curia.[64] However, the accusations
against Basil by his own compatriots proved untenable, and on 29th
October 1218 Honorius commissioned the archbishop of Cosenza to
consecrate him as archbishop of Rossano.[65] In the year 1239, another
Greek was unanimously elected; he was the abbot of the monastery of
S. Salvatore di Bordonaro, who had asked for papal confirmation.

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[60] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra,* ix.385, Scaduto (1947), 43, De Vries (1963), 258, Geanakoplos
(1959), 177–8, 196, 267, Roberg (1964), 45–7, Franchi (1975), 26–8; Kamp (1973–82),
ii.958–63. He could hardly reside in his diocese dominated by Manfred.

[61] Scaduto (1947), 42–3, Kamp (1973–82), ii.876–7.

[62] Letter of Honorius III of 3rd April 1218, *Fontes* iii.55 no. 31 = Taccone-
Gallucci (1902), 124 no. 97; similarly letters of 31st May and 3rd July 1218, *Fontes,*
59–60 nos. 35–6. Cf. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra,* ix.297, Kamp (1973–82), ii.876.

[63] Their names, Romanus, Nicholas, Constantine and Theophylact suggest a
Greek origin.

[64] *Fontes,* iii.60 no. 36, Taccone-Gallucci (1902),126 no. 100. The exact situation
at Santa Severina (for which see also Kamp (1973–82), ii.882–92) will be discussed
in more detail below, in connection with Innocent IV. The archbishops appear to
have been Greek by 1254. However, towards the end of the eleventh century there
had already been one Latin archbishop, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra,* ix.475; Scaduto (1947),
45, but he was succeeded by Greeks. Another Latin tried in vain to acquire the
see in 1198, Kamp (1973–82), ii.883. Honorius III initiated an enquiry into the
archbishop's practices at weddings, his ignoring of the Ember Days and the ordi-
nation of the Archbishop of Rossano according to the Greek rite, *Fontes,* iii.58 no.
32, 60 no. 36. These problems must have resulted from the activities of a Greek
archbishop. Innocent IV appointed the Latin Nicholas of San Germano (Cassino)
non obstante, quod per prelatos Grecos regi predicta ecclesia consuevit, Fontes, iv.(1).190 no.
111. Already in 1221 the papal scribe Benedict of Fratte (modern Ausonia, near
Gaeta), who was certainly a Latin, was given a prebend by Honorius III, *Regesta
Honorii III,* ed. Pressutti, no. 3493.

[65] *Fontes* iii.69 no. 44.

Gregory IX appointed the archbishop of Cosenza and the bishop of Cassano to look into his election and consecration. At the same time, the new archbishop was required to swear an oath of fealty to the Roman Church, using a form of words sent by the pope.[66] The rite of Rossano henceforth remained Greek. The archbishops of the second half of the thirteenth century were also Greeks, although of course they all knew Latin. The first of them was Elias, who had been appointed archimandrate of the monastery of St. Elias of Carbone by the archbishop of Cosenza at Innocent IV's request, who was confirmed as archbishop by Alexander IV in December 1254.[67] His successor, Angelus, was elected in 1266, and his confirmation was entrusted to the cardinal bishop of Albano as papal legate by Clement IV on 17th May 1266, after an examination of the election's legitimacy.[68] The next archbishop, Paul, had previously been abbot of the Greek monastery of St. Maria of the Patiron. His consecration was investigated by another cardinal legate, Gerard of Parma, in 1287. In this case, Honorius IV explicitly pointed out that Paul and his relatives supported the Roman Church and the house of Anjou—a fact which could not have been taken for granted after the Sicilian revolt.[69] A few years later, in 1292, Paul received the *pallium* from Nicholas IV.[70] His successor, Basil, whom Boniface VIII appointed on October 24th 1300, was also a Greek as may be inferred from his name. Shortly afterwards, he too received the *pallium*.[71]

The pontificate of Gregory IX saw controversy over the Greek forms of baptism and confirmation.[72] At the beginning of 1232, the pope directed the archbishop of Bari to send suitable Greeks from Apulia and Calabria to the Curia with their liturgical books, so that

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[66] *Fontes*, iii.337 no. 260. Cf. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.299, Ganzer (1968), 103, Kamp (1973–82), ii.877–8. For the monastery see Scaduto (1947), 116–22.

[67] Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.300; Taccone-Gallucci (1902) 432, Ganzer (1968), 228; Kamp (1973–82), ii.878–9.

[68] *Fontes*, v(1).54 no. 17. Cf. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.300; Taccone-Gallucci (1902), 158. Further also Ganzer (1968), 274, Kamp (1973–82), ii.879–80. John XXI exempted him from the Crusade tithe on 12th December 1276 because of the poverty of his church, *Fontes* v(2).19 no. 12.

[69] *Fontes* v(2).122 no. 65, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.301. See also Ganzer (1968), 339. On the monastery see Holtzmann (1926), 328 ff. Paul also had to swear the oath of fealty to the Roman Church following the papal formula.

[70] *Fontes*, v(2).190–1 nos. 115, 115a.

[71] *Fontes*, v (2), 215, 226 nos. 130, 134 (latter 23rd May 1301). Cf. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* ix.301. The names of the canons mentioned are Greek, thus the cathedral chapter was still predominantly Greek in the year 1300. See also Ganzer (1968), 388.

[72] *Fontes* iii.225 no. 170.

discussions could be held on the validity of their baptismal formu-
lae. The aim was to induce them, by convincing arguments and not
by force, to adopt a uniform practice. For the time being, re-baptism
was not to be required. However, in future the formulae of the Roman
Church were to be used when baptising both children and adults.[73]
It was probably at this moment that Nicholas of Otranto appeared
at the Curia in defence of the Greek rite.[74] Soon afterwards the pope
accused the Greek delegation of a lack of expertise, and this led the
Curia to consider continuing the debate with the better informed
Greeks from the Latin Empire of Constantinople. Even so, Gregory
IX decided a few days later to tolerate Greek baptismal rites to pre-
vent the case from dragging on any further, and he gave the arch-
bishop of Bari instructions to that effect.[75]

Innocent IV continued to negotiate with the Greek Church about
re-union.[76] He sought to solve the problem of the Greek rite on
Cyprus, by now under Latin rule, made or continued contacts with
the other Eastern Churches, and his pontificate saw the start of the
great mission of Franciscans and Dominicans in Asia.[77] During his
pontificate, problems with the Greek Church in southern Italy were
almost completely overshadowed by those concerning the co-existence
of Latin and Greek Christians in the eastern Mediterranean, espe-
cially as the pope spent most of his time in Lyons, from where he
waged his final battle against the Emperor Frederick II, who had
severed communications between the Church in the kingdom of
Sicily and the pope.[78] Only after Frederick's death and the pope's

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[73] *Fontes*, iii.229 no. 173 (20th February 1232). On this problem, Gianelli (1963),
33 ff. Conc. Lat. IV c.4 = X 3. 42. 6. deals with the dispute over baptism. For
the liturgical view, Strittmatter (1946), 54 ff.
[74] Hoeck-Loenertz (1965), 63–7.
[75] *Fontes*, 234–5 no. 178 & 178a (8th and 13th June 1232).
[76] De Vries (1963), 40 ff.
[77] Cf. the introduction to *Fontes* iv(1). xxvii ff. Richard (1977), 70–6, Lupprian
(1981), 48 ff.
[78] This is apparent from the papal registers (which under Innocent IV were volu-
minous), in which we find hardly any significant documents, apart from standard
privileges, concerning the Greek Church in southern Italy. The material is in
Taccone-Gallucci (1902), 140 ff., nos. 117 *et seq.*, and *Fontes* iv(1). Fredrick II repeat-
edly supported Greek bishops in Calabria, but we cannot draw any far-reaching
conclusions on the emperor's policy towards Byzantium from this; the Greek sur-
vival in the south was too insignificant. The emperor confirmed for Archbishop
Basil of Rossano some charters of his Norman predecessors and his mother Constance
in May 1223, Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, ix.297, and. Holtzmann (1956b), 26–8. In the
same way the emperor confirmed for Bishop Arsenius of Bova charters of Roger
I, Roger II and Henry VI in June 1227, *ibid.* 32–4. Frederick II also protected the

return of to Italy, did contacts resume with the Greek Church of south-
ern Italy. So far as we can tell, the emperor had supported the Greek
Church neither more nor less than the Latin Church of the king-
dom. During his stay in Anagni and Naples in October and November
1254, the pope confirmed the abbot of the Greek monastery of St.
Pancratius of Scilla,[79] and installed a Latin, Nicholas of St. Germano,
as archbishop of Santa Severina, a see which up until then had had
Greek archbishops.[80] In Crotone, however, the pope appointed the
bilingual Nicholas of Durazzo (discussed above), but he was to be
the last bishop of the Greek rite.[81] Furthermore, the consolidation
of Manfred's rule prevented Nicholas, like many other papal candi-
dates, from actually taking up residence in his bishopric.

Under Alexander IV, Urban IV and Clement IV, the political sit-
uation slowly began to alter. In 1261, Michael VIII Palaeologos had
reconquered Constantinople, and put an end to the Latin Empire.
Notwithstanding the bitter experiences of the Byzantines under Latin
rule, the Basileus tried to prevent a rupture with the West.[82] This
decision was influenced in no small degree by the expansionist poli-
cies of the new ruler of the *regno*, Charles of Anjou, to whom Clement
IV had, after lengthy negotiations, given the kingdom as a fief in
1265. With Charles' defeats of Manfred near Benevento in 1266 and
of Conradin near Tagliacozzo in 1268 the rule of the Staufen in
southern Italy was brought to an end. Frederick II and his sons had
because of both political and family ties been amicably disposed
towards the remaining Byzantine realms on the other side of the
Adriatic and towards the Greeks in their own territory.[83] Charles of
Anjou on the other hand followed in the footsteps of the old, aggressive

Greek monastery of St Elias at Carbone in the diocese of Anglona-Tursi against
outside threats in 1228, and granted it a diploma in 1232, *ibid.* 79–80.

[79] Theodosius, a monk at the monastery of the Holy Saviour in Messina, had been
appointed abbot of this monastery through the influence of Conrad IV. After Conrad's
death he had retreated from his abbacy in order to wait for papal confirmation,
which Innocent granted him, *Fontes*, iv(1). 188 no. 110 (11th October 1254).

[80] *Fontes* iv(1). 190 no. 111 (9th November 1254), cf. above n. 64. See also Ughelli,
Italia Sacra, ix.483, Ganzer (1968), 197, Kamp (1973–82), ii.887–8. Nicholas was a
cleric of the Sicilian Great Chamberlain, John Morus, a Saracen convert who made
his career at the court of Frederick II, before defecting to the pope. Shortly after
Nicholas's appointment he was murdered by Muslims at Acerenza. See Kantorowicz
(1931), 312–13, 673. That the pope appointed John's cleric as archbishop of Greek
Santa Severina was certainly a reward for his shifting loyalty. Nicholas was ordained
by the Latin Archbishop of Amalfi.

[81] Taccone-Gallucci (1902), 144 no. 120 (2nd September 1254). Above n. 60.

[82] Geanakoplos (1959), *passim*, De Vries (1963), 44–7.

[83] See Borsari (1951).

anti-Byzantine policies of the Normans, and since he could rely on the more or less unlimited agreement of the French popes of that period, it was almost inevitable that the relations between the papacy and the Greek Church deteriorated further.[84] Admittedly Urban IV had at first sought further compromise with Byzantium; and then in particular Gregory X, an Italian whose pontificate interrupted the French occupation of the See of St Peter, brought good relations with the eastern empire to a culmination at the Second Council of Lyons (1274).[85] But thereafter, under Martin IV, hostility towards Byzantium came out into the open with the excommunication of the *Basileus*.[86] Charles of Anjou had nearly finished preparations for an attack on Greece, when the revolt of the Sicilian Vespers in 1282 utterly thwarted his plans.[87] Of course, relations between the popes and the weakening Greek Church in southern Italy during the second half of the thirteenth century were arranged (as indeed they had been since the days of Innocent III and the Fourth Lateran Council) in such a manner as not to involve the Greeks of Southern Italy in any way in the ups and downs of the dispute between the papacy and Charles of Anjou on one hand, and Byzantium on the other. This remained the case even when the increasing pressure of French rule manifested itself in the emigration of Greek monks from southern Italy to Greece. The Second Council of Lyons and its agreements with the representatives of the Byzantine Emperor naturally had some influence on the Greek Church of southern Italy. In particular, the *filioque* clause was emphatically declared binding for the Greek Church of Italy at the Synod of Melfi in 1284, although naturally this had no effect on the island of Sicily, which had been occupied by Peter of Aragon. The papal legate who made this declaration was Gerard of Parma, who was a confidant of the anti-Greek French Pope Martin IV, but nevertheless did not just follow French orders.[88] The synodal statutes concerning the Greeks were

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[84] Geanakoplos (1959), 189–206, 213–28. On Charles I and the papacy, see now Dunbabin (1998), 129–42,

[85] Geanakoplos (1959), 258–76, De Vries (1963), 47–8.

[86] *Fontes*, v(2).101 ff. nos. 53–4, 109 no. 58 (1281/82). Cf. Herde (1967), 6–9, Geanakoplos (1959), 340–51.

[87] Geanakoplos (1959), 364–7, Herde (1967), 8–9.

[88] *Fontes*, v(1).116 ff. no. 41; further Roberg (1964), 135 ff. and *passim*, Herde (1967), 26–7. 46.

however formulated entirely within the framework provided by the earlier legislation of the Fourth Lateran Council, the Second Council of Lyons and the decretals of Innocent III.

At the end of the period discussed here, what was left of the Greek Church in southern Italy was in full decline Given the increasing trend towards Latinisation, it is astonishing that the Greek rite still managed to survive in a few isolated bishoprics for over two centuries. The downfall of Greek culture in southern Italy was linked to a decline in the education and life-style of the Greek clergy. Even the archimandrate of the once important monastery of the Holy Saviour at Messina was described in 1279 as uneducated and of bad reputation; he was even said to have forged charters and have committed murders.[89] The campaigns that followed on from the Sicilian Vespers, and which lasted for over two decades in Calabria and on the island of Sicily, led to the destruction of the Greek monasteries in the diocese of Messina, which had already been abandoned by their monks. For this reason, Pope Nicholas IV ordered a visitation by his legate, Berard, Cardinal bishop of Palestrina, on April 12th 1291 that was supposed to lead to a reoccupation and reform of these monasteries.[90]

After this general survey of the relations of the papacy with the Greek Church in southern Italy, we may now turn to a more systematic presentation of a few important issues concerning the relations between the Latin and Greek Churches in southern Italy, and their treatment in papal decretals and canonist works. We know little about the day-to-day co-existence of Latin and Greek Christians, and only occasionally do the sources cast some light on these obscure issues. One can see, for example, that in those places where Latin and Greek rites were practised alongside each other, often even sharing the same church, conflicts arose. The reasons may have been religious, as well as rooted in ethnic and social factors, but differences in language and customs would have played a role, as is often the case in conflicts stemming from early forms of national consciousness. The popes themselves, in the letters quoted earlier, characterised the differences between Greeks and Latins above all in terms

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[89] *Fontes*, v(2).90 no. 47 (1st October 1279),. On the decline in general, Batiffol (1891), xxxvi ff.

[90] *Fontes*, v(2).175 no. 104. Pontieri (1950), 138 ff., Mercati (1957), 261.

of language, and usually mentioned differences in rite and customs (*mores et consuetudines*) as only contributory factors.[91] Latins spoke a Romance *volgare* as their vernacular while Latin was their liturgical language, the Greeks vulgar Greek and pure Greek in their liturgy. Presumably the Latin Christians, as the politically dominant group, developed a certain sense of superiority towards the Greeks. A letter from Innocent III to Archbishop Pantaleon of Conza, dated November 23rd 1201, describes this type of conflict. A local schism (as the Pope called it) had broken out there between Latins and Greeks, for each group refused to attend the services of the other. Quoting *Romans* x.12, the pope commissioned the archbishop to solve the problem locally with the help of two or three of his suffragans.[92]

But what about the dogmatic and canonical questions dividing the Eastern and Western Churches? The most hotly debated question was that of the *filioque* clause in the creed. From the Carolingian period onwards, the Latin Church had professed that the Holy Spirit proceeded from both the Father and the Son, an expansion of the old creed which the Greeks were not prepared to accept.[93] This problem was at the forefront of the negotiations about union conducted by Cardinal Pelagius in Byzantium in 1214–15, and in 1249 Innocent IV emphatically raised it once again.[94] Even during the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–9, this dogmatic question took pride of place and was discussed for months—compared to this even the recognition of papal primacy was almost of secondary importance.[95] In southern Italy there was apparently no rapid change on this issue. The papal cardinal legate, Gerard of Parma, had to order the Greek clergy specifically to add the *filioque* clause (εκ πατρός υιοῦ τε

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[91] E.g. Conc. Lat. IV c. 9 (= X 1. 31.14) [above n. 55]. Innocent III also brought up the matter of differences of language and rite in the context of the wedding between Margaret of Hungary and the *Basileus* Isaac II Angelus, *Fontes*, ii.309 no. 85 (August–September 1205). The pope welcomed her return to the Latin rite after her marriage to Boniface of Montferrat, but without damning her former change to the Greek rite, for this was normal in cases of a marriage between a western princess and a Byzantine ruler and was not considered as an apostasy from the true faith, cf. Nicol (1964), 162–4.

[92] *Fontes*, iii.212 no. 21. On the low social standing of the Greek clergy, Pontieri (1964). 185–6.

[93] Runciman (1955), 29–33, 47, 73–7, 121, Beck (1959), 306–21, Hussey (1986), 78, 87, 179–81

[94] *Fontes*, iv(1).125 no. 71 (28th May 1249). Hoeck-Loenertz (1965), 59, Hussey (1986), 212–18.

[95] Gill (1959), 131–304.

εκπορευόμενον) to their liturgical books at the Synod of Melfi in 1284.[96] In other words, even after the Second Council of Lyons during which the envoys of the eastern emperor had accepted this addition, it was often still missing from the liturgical books of Greek southern Italy. It may therefore be assumed that the Greek clergy generally clung to Greek usage—after all, which Latin was in a position to inspect the Greek text of the *symbolon*?[97] Indeed, as late as the 1570s, an inquisition ordered by the Archbishop of Brindisi concluded that the Greek clerics of the archdiocese recited the *symbolon* without the *filioque*.[98]

As we have seen, Innocent III and Gregory IX were prepared to accept the use by the Greeks of leavened bread at the Eucharist. However, we do not know whether the dogmatic discussions between the Eastern and Western Churches had any impact on southern Italy with regard to other matters, such as the *epiclesis*, the mixing of water and wine for the Eucharist, and the question of purgatory.

Generally speaking, the popes encouraged the Greek clergy to submit themselves to the provisions of Latin canon law, for example, by paying procurations to visiting church dignitaries.[99] When the Roman Church forced the Greeks of southern Italy to pay tithes, a system originally unknown to them, disagreements invariably arose.[100] From canon 53 of the Fourth Lateran Council, it may be gathered that some lords profited from the Greek refusal to pay tithes; they would do their best to lease land to Greeks, and then demand higher payments on the basis of their tenants' freedom from tithes—they could thus indirectly pocket the difference. The council decreed that tithes to the parish should be paid on all land, which, as Johannes Teutonicus and later writers emphasise, agreed with other papal decisions.[101] According to these texts, both tenants and landlords could

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[96] Herde (1967), 46. Whether there are other such additions in the Greek manuscripts of this and later periods written in southern Italy, is a matter for further research. On these manuscripts, Batiffol (1891) 47 ff., Mercati (1935), Devreesse (1955).

[97] Roberg (1964), 138–40.

[98] Peri (1967), 234–5, 254.

[99] *Fontes*, i.816 no. 399.

[100] Within the Orthodox Church, tithes were only enforced by the state in Kievan, Russia. Tithes were not a feature of Byzantine church law, though there were many other compulsory gifts. See also the letter by Celestine III to the Bishop of Marsico, ed. Holtzmann (1958) 161 no. 220. Unlike Holtzmann, I would identify the places to which it was addressed as Marsico and Capaccio. On the problem of tithes, see also Boyd (1952), 228–40, Holtzmann (1961a) 76, and Holtzmann (1961b), 44 ff.

[101] C 53 (= IV Comp. 3. 9. 5 = X 3. 30. 32).

be required to pay tithes. In comparison, in the Latin East it was not usually the lease-holder (often a non-Latin Christian or Muslim, and hence not familiar with tithes) but rather the land-owner who paid tithes directly to the metropolitan church.[102] Freedom from tithes on newly cultivated land was granted by the popes to Greek monasteries in the same way as to Latin ones.[103] Monasteries of Greek observance received the same confirmations of their possessions as Latin monasteries; once taken under papal protection they thereby enjoyed the same rights as any other monasteries of the Roman Church. How far the Greek Church of southern Italy was 'united' with Rome is evident in the papal privileges for its monasteries. The formulaic sections of these texts are the same as those for Latin monasteries, although further research is still needed on some of the minor variations. Of course the question remains how far such a subjection of Greek monasteries to Latin canon law and the schematic use of standard privilege formulae for monasteries of the Greek rite actually reflected reality. In cases of complaints regarding monastic discipline, the pope ordered visitations (which were sometimes undertaken by Greek bishops) in the same way as for Latin monasteries.[104]

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[102] Johannes Teutonicus ad IV Comp. 3. 9. 5 (= X 3. 30. 32), s. v. *compellantur* (Vat. lat 1377 fol. 302r; Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 3932 fol. 220v): *Pactum enim non nocet ecclesie, quoniam a quolibet possessore possit petere decimam, ut extra 111 de decimis 'Pastoralis'* (= III Comp. 3. 13. 5), *s.v. 'Plerique'* (= IV Comp. 1. 15 c. un.), *ff. de institoria 'Si cum villico'* (= Dig. 14. 3. 16); *sed si possessor receperit partem fructuum et dominus partem, uterque conveniendus est, ut extra III e. c. I et II* (= III Comp. 3. 23 cc. 1, 2), (cf. Kuttner 1937), 374 ff.). Similarly Bernard of Parma, *Glossa ordinaria zum Liber Extra* (ed. Venice 1584; its last edition finished *c.* 1266) ad X 3. 30. 32 s. v. *compellantur.* Hostiensis, Comm. ad X 3. 30. 32 s. v. *maiores inde redditus* (ed. Venice 1581; Johannes Teutonicus l. c. s. v. *consuetudine: Sic ergo attenditur consuetudo loci in solvendis decimis; nec mirum, cum etiam consuetudo attendatur in baptismo* [. . .], *et istud intelligo de consuetudine approbata a papa; alias non valet consuetudo quantumcumque longa, que absque mortali peccato non potest servari* [. . .] *Unde capitulum dicit, quod, qui nimis plene dedit decimas, modo emendetur, XVI q. VII, 'Quicumque'* (= C. 16 q. 7 c. 30), *quia, cum prescriptio non habet locum in decimis, ut s. de prescript. c. ult.* (= IV Comp. 2. 10. 3), *multo minus consuetudo, vel intellige de illa consuetudine, de qua dicitur extra III c. ult.* (= III Comp. 1. 3. 7), *vel dic, quod ista consuetudo est in personalibus decimis, licet videatur, quod et ille divino iure debeantur, XXIII q. V 'Dicat'* (= C. 23 q. 5 c. 25).—Innocent IV Comm. ad X 3. 30. 32 s. v. *consuetudine* (ed. Venice 1570; the work was finished in 1251), connects the word to the custom of paying tithes to the local parish church or to the church that provided the sacraments for the tithe-payers. For tithes in the Latin East, Hamilton (1980), 145–50.

[103] Cf. for example Celestine III for the monastery of the Holy Saviour in Messina, *Fontes* i.818h Additamentum no. 6 (29th December 1197), and *Fontes,* iii.40 no. 22 (5th January 1218). There are other examples from later pontificates during the thirteenth century.

[104] E.g. *Fontes,* iii.70 no. 46 (12th November 1218). Cf. *Fontes,* iii.107 no. 78, *Regesta Honorii III* ed. Pressutti, no. 3367.

With disagreements between Greek monasteries or internal monastic disputes, the Curia intervened in the usual way, with judicial delegations, confirmations of judgements, and the provision of arbitration.[105] The question of clerical celibacy marked a fundamental distinction between the Eastern and Western Churches. Up to the fourth century, they had still shared the same position: a non-'bigamist' marriage (that is one other than with a widow, divorcee or concubine) prior to the reception of higher clerical orders could be continued after receiving them. However, those who already belonged to the higher clerical ranks (from subdeacon upwards) were not then allowed to marry. In the Eastern Church, this regulation was maintained. Married clerics were allowed to continue their marriages after reception of higher orders, and only bishops were required to give up all contact with their wives. The Latin Church, on the other hand, had from the end of the fourth century first prohibited cohabitation with spouses for bishops, priests and deacons; and from Leo I onwards for subdeacons too. As is well-known, this prohibition was often ignored up to the high Middle Ages, and only tightened after the ecclesiastical reforms of the eleventh century.

In southern Italy, where Greek and Latin clergy lived side by side, it was difficult to impose observance of the celibacy rule on every Latin cleric. Pope Stephen IX briefly and precisely summarised the differences at the Lateran Synod of 1057, in a text which was made widely known by Gratian who incorporated into his *Decretum*.[106]

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[105] Cf. for example *Fontes*, iii.78 ff., nos. 52, 52 a, 53; *ibid.*, 84 no. 60. Cf. the grant of free election of the archbishop to the Greek chapter of Santa Severina, *Die Register Innocenz' III*, I, ed. Hageneder & Haidacher [above p. 151], 27 no. 16.

[106] D. 31 c.14 (also printed *Fontes*, i.785 no. 374): *Aliter se habet orientalium ecclesiarum traditio, aliter huius sancte Romane ecclesie. Nam eorum sacerdotes, diaconi atque subdiaconi matrimonio copulantur; istius autem ecclesie vel occidentalium nullus sacerdotum a subdiacono usque ad episcopum licentiam habet coniugium sortiendi.* Of the decrelists, Huguccio, in his *Summa* (1188–90), wrote on this point (Vat., Arch. S. Pietro, C 114 fol. 40r, Vat. Borgh. 272 fol. 21v/22r): s. v. *aliter se habet: id est alia est et diversa, non tamen adversa vel contraria, sicut non sunt contraria, quod ipsi recipiunt hereticos per unctionem crismatis, nos vero per manus impositionem, ut de cons. di. IIII 'Ab antiqua'* (= De cons. D. 4 c. 44), *et sicut non fuit contraria, quod illi de fermentato conficiunt, nos vero de azimis, et sicut non sunt contraria, quod quis immergitur semel in baptismo, alius ter, ut cons. di. IIII 'De trina'* (= De cons. D. 4 c. 80), *et sicut non sunt contraria, quod aliquis ieiunat sabbato, alius non, unus cottidie communicat, alter non, ut de. XII 'Illa'* (= D. 12 c. 11); *similiter non sunt contraria, quod nos non promovemur ad sacrum ordinem, nisi promissa continentia, illi autem promoventur non promissa continentia, quia ipsi adhuc non receperunt statutum de continentia [. . .]*; s. v. *matrimonio: suo coniuncto ante ordinationem, id est uxoribus copulatis ante sacrum ordinem.* Huguccio followed the trend of not considering the conflict between the eastern and western rites as insoluble in the light of older canons.

Innocent III addressed the problem for the surviving Byzantine Church in the south of Italy in answer to a query from the Archbishop of Acerenza. This papal letter, dated September 5th 1205, was included in the decretal collections and hence became a fundamental part of canon law.[107] The issue was the following: the canons of Anglona had elected the cantor of Tricarico, a Greek, as their bishop. (There were still a number of Greek churches and monasteries in the Tricarico region at this period.) The Latin Archbishop of Acerenza had, on papal instructions, made a routine investigation into the election, and this had led to doubts about the legitimacy of the bishop-elect. The new bishop's father had in fact been a Greek cleric, who had married before entering into higher clerical orders and according to Greek custom had continued his marriage after receiving these higher orders. His son, the man who had now been elected bishop, had been born after his father had become a priest, and thus according to Latin canon law was illegitimate. In his rescript, Innocent III acknowledged that it was customary for Greek clergy to remain married if the wedding had taken place prior to their entry into higher ecclesiastical office. He therefore ordered the archbishop to confirm and consecrate the bishop-elect of Anglona, providing that neither local custom nor other canonical obstacle prevented this. In this way, the Latin Church acknowledged the different approach of the Greek church to celibacy.[108] In areas where Greek and Latin populations lived so closely together, as in Calabria and the Salento peninsula, it must of course have led to complications when Latin clerics tried to profit from the situation. They would marry after receiving lower orders, subsequently transfer to the Greek observance, and when consecrated into higher orders by Greek bishops continued their marriages, thus bypassing the celibacy rules of the Latin Church. The synod assembled under Cardinal Gerard at Melfi on 28th March 1284 tried to deal with this problem. The cardinal legate decreed in the synodal statutes that married clerics, who refused to give up their marriage, would not be admitted to higher orders unless it could be established with certainty that their parents were Greek. Contravention of this rule meant punishment for both

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[107] III Comp. 3. 3. 2 = X 3. 3. 6 (*Fontes*, ii.240 no. 40). Herde (1967), 2–3.
[108] This also applied to the Greek clergy under Latin rule in the eastern Mediterranean, especially in the Empire of Constantinople, De Vries (1963), 238; Herde (1967), 28.

the recipients of such orders and those who conferred them. How little success such decisions had is shown (much later) by a letter of the Archbishop of Otranto in 1570, who complained that Latins who were barely able to read Greek were married according to the Greek rite and lived together with their wives and children.[109]

The early canonists had little of interest to add to this question. It is clear that in the Middle Ages, as today, there was opposition to celibacy, especially concerning the irrevocability of the vows of chastity required of clerics. This was obvious, given that the Roman Church made far-reaching concessions on this point to the Greek clergy subject to it, which the writings of the canonists clearly illustrate. Huguccio, Vincentius, Tancred and later canonists point out that certain contemporaries denied that clerics had been forced into celibacy by vow; instead they saw it as merely an ecclesiastical regulation, from which the pope could grant dispensation. To this the decretalists added a lengthy (but here irrelevant) elaboration on the irrevocability of vows and on whether the pope was able to grant dispensation of vows.[110] Among many references to Roman and canon law, they especially drew on the papal prerogative to confirm and consecrate a Greek priest's son who had been elected as bishop only if it was considered inoffensive to local customs. As the *Rubrum* of the *Liber Extra* states, one should avoid causing scandal in these cases.[111] Innocent IV, and after him Hostiensis, later added some

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[109] Herde (1967), 28–9, 48. Peri (1967), 233.

[110] Cf. Huguccio (see n. 106) ad D. 31 c. 14 s. v. *copulantur: per hoc verbum fuerunt multi decepti et decipiuntur hodie dicentes, quod olim omnibus licuit contrahere in sacro ordine, et non licet occidentalibus* (Mss: *orientalibus*), *sed ceci sunt et in cecitate relinquunt suos auditores. Numquam enim a tempore apostolorum licuit contrahere in sacro ordine, ut di. LXXXIIII 'Cum in preterito'* (= D. 84 c. 3) *et di. XXXII 'Si quis eorum'* (= D. 32 c. 7).—Vincentius (before 1215, cf. Kuttner (1937) 356), ad III Comp. 3. 3. 2 (= X 3. 3. 6) (Vat. Lat., 1378 fol. 57v), copied verbatim by Tancred (his *apparatus* on III Comp. of *c.* 1220; here after Vat. lat. 1377 fol. 212r) and Johannes Teutonicus (his comments on III Comp. after 1217; here after Vat. Chigi, E VII 207 fol. 199r), s. v. *votum continentie: ar., quod occidentales clerici tenentur voto ad continentiam, quod quidam tamen negant dicentes, quod tantum ecclesie constitutione, ar. LXXXIIII di. 'Cum in preterito'* (= D. 84 c. 3). *Unde dicunt, quod papa potest dispensare, etiam si concederetur, quod contra votum dispensare non posset. Ego intelligo, quod, ubi clericus in ordinum promotione exprimit votum, tenetur ad illud, et papa, si dispensaret, hic contra votum dispensaret; si vero non exprimit, si promovendus est iuris peritus, eodem modo; si vero est iuris inscius, tenetur ad votum* (Tancred here writes: *non tenetur ex voto, sed ex constitutione*), *et si papa dispensat cum tali, non intelligitur dispensare contra votum, sed contra constitutionem. Vin(centius).* Followed by Godfrey of Trani, *c.* 1240, in part copied verbatim from Bernard of Parma, *Glossa ordinaria* ad X 3. 3. 6, as then Hostiensis, Comm.ad X 3. 3. 6 s. v. *votum continentie.*

[111] X 3. 3. 6: *Filius sacerdotis Greci ex uxore genitus licite inter Latinos promovetur, si*

interesting particulars. According to them, a married Greek cleric in higher orders was only allowed to continue his marriage if his stay among Latin Christians was temporary. In order to avoid causing scandal, he ought therefore either to return to his Greek flock as quickly as possible or give up his marriage. A Latin cleric was not allowed to remain married, whether working among Greeks or Latins.[112] Of even greater interest than the problems just addressed were questions concerning the standing of a Greek bishop and his ordination. These were, admittedly, questions primarily relevant for Greeks living in the territories of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, on Cyprus or in what remained of the other Crusader states, while such matters were only of secondary importance for Greeks in southern Italy. According to the ninth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, it was a fundamental principle that a bishopric could only be headed by a single bishop, be he a Latin or a Greek.[113] The Greek bishoprics of southern Italy had already been organised into metropolitan provinces, according to Latin canon law. In 1165, for instance, Pope Alexander III gave the Latin Archbishop of Reggio in Calabria the right to consecrate both the Latin and the Greek bishops in his suffragan bishoprics, which had been organised as one metropolitan

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scandalum non obsistat. Vincentius and Tancred ad III Comp. 3. 3. 2 (see n. 129) s. v. *consuetudo: ar., quod consuetudo legitimat eos, qui aliter essent illegitimi, s. de cog. spirituali c. cult. l. I* (= I Comp. 4. 11. 3 = X 4. 11. 3); *verius est, quod repellitur propter scandalum.—* s. v. *repugnet: ex quo ergo consuetudo loci impedit et suspendit usum matrimonii iam contracti, multo fortius impedire potuit contrahendum, ar. s. de cog. spir. 'Super eo' l. I* (= I Comp. 4. 11. 3 = X. 4. 11. 3), *XXXII di. 'Placuit'* (= D. 32 c. 13), *nam consuetudo et artat et ampliat iurisdictionem, ar. s. de off. legati 'Quod translationem'* (= III Comp. 1. 19. 2 = X 1. 30. 4), ff. *quod vi aut clam. 1. III § 'Non tantum'* (= Dig. 43. 24. 3 § 3).—Johannes Teutonicus, od. s. v. *consuetudo repugnet: sic ergo consuetudo facit ineligibilem eum, qui alias est eligibilis et econverso, nam in hac re potentissime consuetudo est servanda, ff. de decurio. 'Non tantum'* (= Dig. 50. 2. 11), *XXIIII q. 1 'Pudenda'* (= C. 24 q. 1 c. 33), *s. de causa pos. 'Cum ecclesia'* (= III Comp. 2. 5. 1 = X 2. 12. 3), *s. de electione 'Cum inter'* (= III Comp. 1. 6. 3 = X 1. 6. 18), *nam in carnali matrimonio attenditur consuetudo, XXXII di. 'Placuit'* (= D. 32 c. 13), *s. de cognatione spirituali c. II* (= III Comp. 4. 8. 2 = X 4. 11. 7), *ar. contra s. de consuetudine 'Cum venerabilis'* (= III Comp. 1. 3. 6 = X 1. 4. 7). Io(hannes).—Hostiensis Comm. ad X 3. 3. 6 s. v. *mandamus quatinus*: [. . .] *Nisi consuetudo regionis repugnet pro eo, quod Greci conversantur inter Latinos, sine dubitatione procedas ad confirmationem et consecrationem eius, si aliud non obstat* [. . .]

[112] Innocent IV Comm. ad X 1. 11. 9 s. v. *Nolumus*: [. . .] *et nota, quod ordinatus a Greco et utens matrimonio contracto secundum Grecos in sacris ordinibus, si brevem moram tracturus sit apud Latinos, tolerandus est utens contracto matrimonio; si vero longam moram traheret, non esset tolerandus propter scandalum et numquam debet sibi dari ecclesia Latinorum, nisi primo continentiam promittat. Latinus autem nec apud Grecos nec apud Latinos matrimonio utetur contracto.* Hostiensis takes this point of view too, Comm. ad. X 1. 11. 9. s.c.v.

[113] Conc. Lat. IV. c. 9. De Vries (1963), 36–7.

province. These suffragan sees included the Greek bishoprics of Gerace, Oppido, Bova and Crotone.[114] Innocent III expressly decreed that Greek bishops should be anointed according to the Latin rite.[115] Given the demographic make-up of southern Italy it was inevitable that Greek clerics were subjected to Latin diocesan bishops, and vice versa. A letter by Celestine III to the Archbishop of Otranto, which was included in the collections of decretals, provides interesting details about the resulting problems. Even though the see of Otranto had for a long time been subject to a Latin archbishop, there was still also a Greek prelate, the *episcopus Cathamarsiliensis*, in that territory of Otranto. The place where this Greek bishop had his seat has not so far been identified with certainty, but it may be modern Casamassella (Comune of Uggiano la Chiesa), south of Otranto.[116] The Greek bishop had, at the request of a local lord, ordained a Latin cleric as priest of a chapel, although he had done so without due respect for the Ember Days, the correct ordination periods according to Latin canon law. In his letter, the pope clearly pointed out that in 'Calabria'[117] Latins were being consecrated by Greeks and Greeks by Latins according to their own respective local rite, thus resulting in a mix of the two rites. Celestine III expressed his wish that in future such a combination of observance in the ordination of clerics should cease. The pope also decided that the Archbishop of Otranto should look into the the validity of the ordination by the Greek bishop without regard for the Ember Days, and if he found it to be a custom generally accepted by the Latin clergy in that area then he should declare the ordination valid. Shortly afterwards, Innocent III returned to an aspect of this problem in another letter

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[114] Taccone-Gallucci (1902), 72 no. 63 = *Fontes*, i.802 no. 389 (19th November 1165). Holtzmann (1961a), 76.

[115] *Fontes*, ii.258 no. 52 (25th February 1204, to the Bulgarian archbishop, Basil) = III Comp. 1. 11 c. = X 1. 15. 1. In a letter to the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople in 1208, Innocent decreed that existing Greek bishops who submitted to the pope and the patriarch need not be anointed again. Future episcopal ordinations should however be according to the Latin rite, *Fontes*, ii.341 no. 109. The same applied to southern Italy and to the ordination of abbots, *Fontes*, ii.352–3 no. 120.

[116] *Fontes*, i.817 = II Comp. 1. 7. 2 = X 1. 11. 9. Cf. Holtzmann (1958), 151 no. 202.

[117] The Terra d'Otranto had once been known as Calabria, but at the end of the seventh century the name was transferred to Roman *Bruttium*, which became 'new' Calabria, Gay (1904), 6. Probably the pope here uses the name for the whole of the area inhabited by Greeks. We need not assume with Holtzmann (1958), 151, that the papal chancery was ignorant of south Italian geography.

which was later incorporated into the decretal collections. The central issue in this case was whether a Greek or a Latin cleric who was subject to a Latin diocesan bishop could be consecrated by a Greek bishop according to the Greek rite, that is without regard for the set intervals of time between ecclesiastical grades and the established dates for ordination.[118] The reason for this letter was a complaint that these clerics often received all their orders, or at least several of them, simultaneously, and in consequence the Latin diocesan bishops forbade them to conduct any religious ministry. The pope decided that a Greek cleric who had been ordained in this way without the explicit order or permission of his Latin diocesan bishop, was to be forbidden to carry out his ministry. However, had this been done on the instructions, or with the permission of, the Latin bishop, it was the latter who should be disciplined while the consecration itself remained valid. Four years later, the pope returned to this issue in a letter to the Latin bishops of southern Italy, which was later included in the *Compilatio tertia*, but not in the *Liber Extra*. It had come to Innocent's attention that Greek and Latin clerics were having themselves ordained as priests by Greek bishops without anointing and without observance of the Ember Days—in other words against the provisions of Latin canon law. In contrast to the decretal just discussed, emphasis here was laid on the lack of anointing. The pope decreed, in accordance with his earlier decision, that if these priests had received their Greek ordination without the permission of the Latin bishop they should be suspended from office. Innocent added to the provision of his earlier decretal that if such permission had been granted, whatever was missing from the consecration performed by the Greek bishop should be supplemented by the Latin bishop, and first and foremost this meant anointing. Henceforth, however, the Latin bishop should not allow clerics of his diocese, whether Greek or Latin, to be ordained by a Greek bishop. If they did receive ordination without his permission, they were to be suspended.[119] All this makes clear that the pope's intention was to impose the exclusive use of Latin canon law and rite in Latin dioceses, for both

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[118] *Fontes*, ii.208a no. 18 = III Comp. 1. 9. 3 = X 1. 11. 11 (January/February 1200).
[119] *Die Register Innocenz' III, 7 Pontifikatsjahr 1204/5*, ed. O. Hageneder *et al.*, Vienna 1997, 194 no. 121 (2nd August 1204). The address of this letter is missing in the register, but it was most probably directed to bishop in southern Italy, cf. *Fontes*, ii.271 no. 61 = III Comp. 1. 9. 1. This became redundant because of the similar contents of III Comp. 1. 9. 3 = X 1. 11. 11.

Greek and Latin clergy. In Greek dioceses only Greek clerics, and not Latins, were allowed to lay claim to Greek rite and Greek canon law. As we shall see, this was indeed the interpretation of contemporary decretalists, who must have accurately reflected the pope's intentions. This was, of course, an unequal arrangement, disadvantaging the Greeks and clearly recognising the limits of tolerance for the Greek rite. In practice, Innocent III seems to have wanted an arrangement for southern Italy of the type which he had made compulsory during the organisation of the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople after the Crusaders' conquest. Thereafter, Greek bishops were only allowed in dioceses of exclusively Greek populations, and of course only those Greek bishops who submitted to the pope were considered for these appointments. Dioceses with a mixed Latin and Greek population were to be ruled by a Latin bishop.[120]

The inclusion of the papal letters cited above into decretal collections gave the canonists the opportunity to discuss at length the questions they raised. We should not, however, expect their glosses and *summae* to provide us with detailed information about the situation of the Greek Church in southern Italy, and most decretalists would in any case not have known enough to do this. These glosses deal mainly with canonical problems which are hardly relevant here, which could better be discussed in the context of other decretals, and do not relate to the actual problems of the Greek Church. But the glosses may allow a better understanding of specific questions concerning the Greek rite and Greek canon law, as seen from the perspective of Latin canon law.

The letters of Celestine III and Innocent III had solved the problems of the proper times of ordination and the prescribed intervals between ordinations. From the fifth century onwards, the Latin Church had established Ember Saturdays and the Saturday before Passion Sunday as the days for the ordination of higher clergy; later on, Easter Saturday was also added. The rule for interstices prescribed that the candidate should first have worked in lower orders, in which he had to prove himself, before he could receive higher ones. Requirements for minimal periods of time between one ordination and the next had, however, never been developed.[121] The Greek

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[120] See his letter of 2nd August 1206 to the Latin Patriarch Thomas Morosini, *Fontes*, ii.319 no. 91.

[121] Hinschius (1869), 114.

Church did not use the Ember ordination days for the laying on of hands, nor did established intervals between the conferment of different orders exist, other than those pertaining to the canonically required age limits.[122] In their discussion of both these decretals, the canonists pointed out that the established ordination days of the Roman Church should be observed.[123] Only the pope, and not a bishop, was allowed to ordain on other days than the Ember Days.[124] Additionally, Tancred and others established, in a supplement to the decretal, that apart from Ember Saturdays only Easter Saturday and the Saturday before Passion Sunday could be taken into consideration as possible ordination-days.[125] To the decree of Innocent III it was added that for the anointing required by the Roman Church oil should be used for the ordination of priests, and chrism for bishops.[126] With regard to the canonical intervals, the decretalists affirmed the admissibility of the still current Latin Church custom of ordaining lower clergy up to the grade of acolyte in one ritual.[127] The

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[122] Beck (1959), 79–80.

[123] Vincentius ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1 (Vat. lat. 1378, fol. 21r, Karlsruhe, Aug. XL. fol. 140v) s. v. *quattuor: cum ordines sint pocius hiis temporibus conferendi quam aliis temporibus, quibus ieiunatur, licet Moyses legatur ieiunasse XL diebus et XL noctibus, ut legem a deo mereatur accipere, ut de Helia legitur, quod ibat in fortitudine cibi unius XL diebus* [. . .]

[124] Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1 (Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 173r; Karlsruhe, Aug. XL, fol. 140v) s. v. *extra IIII tempora: quod nullus episcoporum facere potest, nisi solus dominus papa, ut s. e. t. 'De eo' l. I* (= I Comp. 1. 6. 3 = X 1. 11. 3), *ubi hac materia satis explicatur tum in textu quam in glosa. T(ancredus).*

[125] Tancred ad II Comp. 1. 7. 2 (= X 1. 11. 9) (the first edition of the comment was written before 1215, the second c. 1220, cf. Kuttner (1937), 346; here after Vat. Lat. 1377, fol. 104r; Vat. Borgh. 264, fol. 77v/78r; Vat. Chigi, E VII 207, fol. 92r/92v) s. v. *in quattuor: supple: et in sabato sancto et in sabato, quod precedit dominicam de passione, extra I de temporibus or. 'De eo'* (= I Comp. 1. 6. 3 = X 1. 11. 3).

[126] Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1 (Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 173r; Karlsruhe, Aug. XL, fol. 140v; as Bamberg, Can. 19, fol. 136r) s. v. *manuum: ungi debent oleo manus presbiteri* [. . .] *sed non crismate, ut XXIII di. 'Preterea'* (= D. 23 c. 12). Similarly Laurentius Hispanus ad 1. c. (Paris, B. N. lat. 3932, fol. 120v. Tancred ad 1. c. s. v. *suppleas: id est desacrat unctione, c. I i. de sacramentis non iterandis ca. I* (= III Comp. 1. 12 c. un. = X 1. 16. 1). Unction did not play a part in the ordination of priests and bishops according to the Greek rite.

[127] Vincentius ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1, s. v. *omnes: minores quidem omnes ordines videtur, quod aliquis sine offensa suscipere possit, si consuetudo hoc habet, supra de eo, qui furtive 'Cum H. lator' l. II* (= II Comp. 5. 12. 1 = X 5. 30. 2), *sed minuit capitulum antiquum, quod simul saltem usque ad accolitatum accipi possunt, LXXVII c. II et c. 'Quicumque'* (= D. 77 cc. 2, 3); *ar. contra e. s. distinctione c. I* (= D. 77 c. 1). Johannes Teutonicus and Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1, s. v. *omnes: minores ordines simul recipi possunt, ut s. de eo, qui furtive ordinem suscepit 'Cum H.' l. II* (= II Comp. 5. 12. 1 = X 5. 30. 2), *vel saltim usque ad acolitatum, ut LXXVII di. c. II, c. 'Quicumque'* (= D. 77 c. 2, 3), *licet contrarium videatur dici in primo capitulo illius distinctionis* (= D. 77 c. 1) Io(hannes).

popes' objections to the Greek rite only concerned the failure to observe the proper intervals between conferment of the lesser orders and that of the subdeaconate as the first of the *ordines maiores*, and between conferment of the higher orders themselves.[128]

With regard to the specific questions discussed by Celestine III, the decretalists maintained that the Latin diocesan bishop would have acted in accordance with canon law had he subsequently simply suspended the cleric consecrated by a Greek bishop.[129] A further problem needing clarification was whether the pope's argument about *consuetudo* for the validity of consecration—that is, the non-compliance with the Ember Days by the Greeks—was really relevant. In answer to this, the decretalists allowed a deviation from the canonical norm in view of the large number of people following the Greek rite and the desirability of preventing scandal.[130] In this case 'custom' was interpreted as a deviation from positive law from which no guilt or punishment followed. By contrast, deviation from natural law through custom was considered sinful and punishable.[131] It would, in other words, seem evident that the decretalists understood less of the Greek rite than Celestine III. Later, canonists like Hostiensis saw the position of the popes from Innocent III onwards as having become rigid.

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[128] The same accusation had been made concerning the ordination of Basil as Archbishop of Rossano in 1218, that he had received all orders up to the diaconate in a single day [above, n. 62].

[129] Tancred ad II Comp. 1. 7. 2, s. v. *credidit: et bene credidit, ut VII q. I 'Episcopus in diocesi'* (= C. 7 q. 1 c. 28), *sed contra VIIII q. II 'Lugdunensis'* (= C. 9 q. 2 c. 10). *Sed illud capitulum de dispensatione loquitur.* Innocent IV said that in itself it is completely legal when Greek bishops ordain Latin clerics and the other way round. It should, however, happen without mixing rites, ad X 1. 11. 9 s. v. *Nolumus.*

[130] Vincentius and Tancred ad III Comp. 3. 3. 2, s. v. *consuetudo: ar., quod consuetudo legitimat eos, qui aliter essent illegitimi, s. de cog. spirituali c. ult. l. I* (= I Comp. 4. 11. 3 = X 4. 11. 3); *verius est: repellitur propter scandalum.* See also Innocent IV ad X 1. 11. 11 s. v. *toleratur: et hec est toleratio ratione scandali vel multitudinis* [. . .], as well as Bernard of Parma in the *Glossa ordinaria* ad X 1. 11. 11 s. v. *toleratur.*

[131] Tancred ad II Comp. 1. 7. 2 (see n. 125) s. v. *consuetudo: ar., quod consuetudo excusat in delictis, sed male, s. e. t. 'Sane' l. I* (= I Comp. 1. 6. 2 = X 1. 11. 2), *sed contra s. de symo. 'Non satis' l. I* (= I Comp. 5. 2. 7 = X 5. 3. 8), *i. de eo, qui duxit in matrimonium, quam polluit 'Cum haberet' l. II* (= II Comp. 4. 5. 2 = X 4. 7. 5), *XXIII q. I 'Scisma'* (= C. 24 q. 1 c. 34), *ex quibus omnibus colligitur, quod consuetudo non minuit peccatum, sed auget. Solutio: Consuetudo excusat a pena temporali, ut hic, sed accusat in eterna, ut ibi, ar. II q. I 'Multi' in fine* (= C. 2 q. 1 c.18); *vel sic in hiis, que sunt prohibita a iure positivo, tantum excusat consuetudo tam a pena quam a culpa, ut hic; in illis vero, que iure nature mala sunt, si omnes homines facerent, non minus peccarent nec minus essent puniendi, ut XXXII q. VII 'Flagitia'* (= C. 32 q. 7 c. 13). Johannes Teutonicus considered that the only custom concerning payment of tithes to be valid was that confirmed by the pope. All other habits, old as they may be, were regarded as sinful.

For example, Hostiensis stressed that the former custom of ignoring the Ember Days was no longer permitted in his time—only the pope was still in a position to tolerate the Greek rite on this point.[132] On the further question discussed in Celestine III's decretal, as to whether the cleric concerned should be re-ordained, the canonists emphasised more strongly than the pope that in this case the ordination by the Greek bishop was fundamentally invalid since he did not preside over a diocese.[133] Greek custom should only be tolerated and dispensation be given if it was possible to do so without causing scandal.[134] Anointing should in any case be conferred later.[135]

The tendency to limit the Greek rite severely is even more evident in the glosses to the two decretals of Innocent III concerning the validity of ordinations carried out by Greek bishops.[136] The decretalists' basic assumption was that all clerics in Latin dioceses were subject to Latin canon law.[137] Even a Latin cleric who had been ordained by a Greek bishop with the permission of his Latin diocesan—an ordination that in itself had been valid since the decretals

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[132] Comm. ad X 1. 11. 9 s. v. *Cum secundum*: [. . .] *Dicas, quod hodie talis mos est reprobatus, ut in concilio generali i. de baptis. 'Licet Grecos'* (= X 3. 42. 6), *et merito, ne promiscuis actibus rerum officia perturbentur* [. . .] *in hiis vero, que non obstant saluti credentium seu institutioni ecclesiastice tam solemni, non obstat talis diversitas, dummodo canonica non obstet auctoritas* [. . .]; *quia, quod dicit talis mos toleratur, dicas, quod loquitur secundum tempus suum* [. . .]; *sed et papa adhuc potest hoc, quando placuerit, tolerare.*

[133] Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1 (see n. 124; also in Bamberg, Can. 19, fol. 136r) s. v. *suspendas: immo irrita est ipso iure talis ordinatio, ut LXXI di. c. I et III* (= D. 71 cc. 1 u. 3), *et proprius episcopus sic ordinatum deponere potest, ut VII q. I 'Episcopus in diocesi'* (= C. 7 q. 1 c. 28). In Bamberg, Can. 19, it is followed by: *Dic ergo suspendas, id est suspensum denunties. T(ancredus).*

[134] Laurentius and Tancred ad II Comp. 1. 7. 2 (see n. 125) s. v. *observantia: qua tenetur in conferendis ordinibus, utrum scilicet aliquid obmittant de solempnitate vel non, vel si ei suppleas, vel non, vel si omissa fuerit forma, reordinetur; et hoc est, quod sequitur. La(urentius).—* s. v. *consuetudinis: si enim sic se habet consuetudo sine scandalo, cum eo poterit dispensare; non autem dicit hoc, ut si hec sit consuetudo, quod de iure debeat remanere, quia postea reprobat huiusmodi consuetudinem. La(urentius).*

[135] Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1 (see n. 124) s. v. *suppleas: id est desacrat unctione, c. I i. de sacramentis non iterandis c. I* (= III Comp. 1. 12 c. un. = X 1. 16. 1).

[136] III Comp. 1. 9. 1 and III Comp. 1. 9. 3 = X 1. 11. 11.

[137] Laurentius ad III Comp. 1. 9. 3 (= X 1. 11. 11; here after Karlsruhe Aug. XL, fol. 140v; Paris. lat. 3932, fol. 120v) s. v. *Latinorum: et ideo legem Latinorum debent sequi* [. . .]—Tankred ad l. c. (Bamberg, Can. 19, fol. 136v, contain glosses by Laurentius and Tancred, cf. *Kuttner* (1937), 359, as also Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 173r with the glosses by Tankred) s. v. *Latinorum: et ideo Latinorum legem tenere deberent* (in Vat. lat. 1377: *et ideo lege Latinorum vivere debent*).—Johannes Teutonicus ad III Comp. 1. 9. 3 (Vat. Chigi, E VII 207, fol. 155r) s. v. *consistentes: Unde iure Latinorum regi debent, XII di. 'Illud'* (= D. 12 c. 4).

of Innocent III[138] (even if the Latin bishop was liable to be disciplined for it), was as a matter of course subject to Latin canon law. Vincentius, Laurentius Hispanus and Tancred, on the other hand, maintained that Greek ordination without regard for the proper dates and without anointing was still valid for those clerics belonging to a Greek diocese.[139] However, later Innocent IV and Hostiensis emphatically stressed that a Latin cleric who had been received into higher orders by a Greek bishop could, as a cleric of a Latin church, in no circumstances continue to be married; this was after all the way in which Latin clerics had attempted to circumvent the Roman Church's requirement of celibacy, as we have already gathered from the proceedings of the Synod of Melfi in 1284. In cases where a cleric belonged to both a Latin and a Greek diocese, for example by possessing patrimonial property and prebends in the Greek diocese, and had for this reason been ordained by a Greek bishop, the customs of the bishop who had performed the ordination should, according to Vincentius, Laurentius and Tancred, be decisive. In the opinion of Innocent IV and Hostiensis, the same was also the case for clerics who had received an absolute ordination (namely an ordination without the allocation of a benefice).[140] But if the most important

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[138] Cf. also Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 1 (see n. 124) s. v. *licentia: quod eo mandante factum est, proinde est acsi ipsemet fecisset, ut i. de officio iudicis ordinarii 'Quod sedem'* (= III Comp. 1. 10. 4 = X 1. 31. 10), LXXI di. c. II (= D. 71 c. 2). T(ancredus). Near the end of the sixteenth century, an 'assistente o esaminatore perito greco' was still present during the ordination of Greek clerics by the Latin Archbishop of Otranto; see the letter of 1577, ed. Peri (1967), 239.

[139] Vincentius, Laurentius and Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 3 (see n. 137) s. v. *diocesis: secus esset, si essent de diocesi Grecorum* [. . .] *Vin(centius)*.

[140] Vincentius, Laurentius and Tancred 1. c. continue: *ar. clericus occidentalis ordinatus a Greco de licentia episcopi Latini tenetur continere* [. . .] *si remaneret in diocesi Latinorum, LXXI 'Primatus'* (= D. 71 c. 6). *Quod si transiret, non est questio; quid, si utrobique habet domicilium et ordinatur a Greco ad titulum sui patrimonii, quod potest facere, et de prebendis suis? Dico, quod sequatur in voto condicionem ordinatoris.* Innocent IV Comm. ad X 1. 11. 11 s. v. *licentia: cum ex hoc loco appareat tolerari Latinum ordinatum a Greco, non attendam quantum hic, ut possit matrimonio contracto uti, quod ordinator fuerit Grecus vel Latinus, sed ecclesie, ad quam ordinatur, consuetudines servare debet* [. . .]; *si autem non ordinatur ad certam ecclesiam, ritum ordinationis servabit.*—Hostiensis ad l. c. s. v. *ordinato: Quamvis ex hoc loco appareat Latinum ordinatum a Greco tolerari debere quantum ad executionem ordinum, non tamen est hoc attendendum quantum ad hoc, ut possit uti matrimonio iam contracto, sed potius est attendenda consuetudo ecclesie, quam est intitulatus* [. . .] *Si vero non ordinetur ad titulum certe ecclesie, tunc consuetudinem ordinatoris servabit.* In comparison to the decrees of Celestine III, Hostiensis is somewhat stricter (X. 1. 11. 9) and continues: *Sed mos ille, quod omnes Greci conferant ordines, adhuc toleratur* [. . .], *et ideo prelatus, qui dedit hic hanc licentiam, licet puniendus sit, non tamen interdicere potest executionem ordinis sic suscepti.*

glossators of the *Compilatio tertia* also followed the papal decretals and pronounced themselves in favour of the tolerance of the Greek rite, they did so with the express proviso that this only be done to prevent scandal, and notwithstanding the fact that the Greeks professed certain heretical ideas.[141] In this context, some allusions were made to events in Constantinople.[142] Citing Pseudo-Isidore, it was maintained that the Greek Church was lawfully subject to the Latin.[143]

The ninth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council caused the decretalists some difficulties. We may recall that this had laid down unequivocally that only one bishop could head a diocese. In cases where both Latins and Greeks were living in the diocese, the local bishop could if necessary appoint a *catholicus praesul*, who could act as his vicar for the other part of the population, that is for those believers who did not follow the bishop's own observance. The conciliar canon's terminology is vague—*presul* is often employed as a synonym for *episcopus*. At the same time, though, the wording of the decretal shows without a doubt that a *presul* could never be a second diocesan bishop. One may note in particular the remark that this *presul* was no more than the bishop's substitute, who owed obedience and submission to him. At best, the *presul* was an auxiliary bishop—like the earlier *chorepiscopus*—the origins of which go back to this period—who lacked full episcopal jurisdiction. On the other hand, the vicar mentioned here may have had some connection with the then emerging general vicariate.[144] However, the position of the

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[141] See n. 130, as well as Johannes Teutonicus ad III Comp. 1. 9. 3 (see n. 137) s. v. *toleratur.* [. . .] *ratione scandali et multitudinis, XXIII q. IIII 'Non potest'* (= C. 23 q. 4 c. 32). Similarly also in Bamberg, Can. 19, fol. 136v (with glosses by Laurentius and Tancred).

[142] Vincentius, Laurentius and Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 3 (Karlsruhe, Aug. XL, fol. 141r; cf. Kuttner (1937) 360) s. v. *toleratur: ar. contra, qui essent Constantinopolim, quod scilicet rapinam commiserint; licet Greci in multis dissentirent a Romana ecclesia, unde videri poterant hostes fidei, dum tamen Romana ecclesia eos tolerabit, non sic fuerant appetendi.*— Laurentius l. c. (after Paris. B.N. Lat. 3932, fol. 120v and Bamberg Can. 19, fol. 136v): *Item ar. contra eos, qui Constantinopolim destruxerunt, cum, licet in quibusdam errarent (sc. Greci), eos tamen Romana ecclesia tolerabat.* The canonists always distinguished between the Orthodox Church in Byzantine territory (and in the Latin Empire of Constantinople) and the 'united Greeks' of southern Italy, although the limits were fluid.

[143] Johannes Teutonicus ad IV Comp. 3. 16. 1 (= X 3. 42. 6) (after Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 304r, and Paris. B.N. Lat. 3932, fol. 223v) s. v. *revertentes: de iure enim ecclesia Grecorum est subiecta Romane ecclesie, ut XXIIII q. I 'Rogamus'* (= C. 24 q. 1 c. 15 = ep. Marcelli I; ed. P. Hinschius, *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae et capitula Angilramni* (1904), 223). Also Hostiensis Comm. ad X 3. 42. 6 s. v. *revertentes.*

[144] Feine (1964), 371–3. Cf. Honorius III. X 1. 38. 9.

presul caused some difficulty for the decretalists, even though at this time there were cases of episcopal deputies, whose juridical status was frequently subject to debate.[145] Tancred writes that the diocesan bishop might appoint either an appropriate cleric (*discretus vir*) to take care of the believers of the other rite or ordain for them a bishop, whom he should make his vicar, and who should owe him obedience and submission. Tancred thus undoubtedly equated the term *presul* in this decretal with *episcopus*.[146] Johannes Teutonicus referred to parallels of little relevance in other decretals and invested the vicar with a regular power of jurisdiction similar to that of an archdeacon. He too considered him a bishop who should be ordained by the diocesan bishop, and not by the metropolitan archbishop. As an explanation of his position, and referring to III Comp. 1.8.2 (= X 1.9.9), he mentions the interesting case of Archbishop Bernard of Ragusa, who was received at the court of King Richard I of England and created bishop of Carlisle after he had been chased out of his Dalmatian diocese.[147] However, this case hardly explains the juridical position of a bishop's vicar in dioceses where both rites were followed. One may assume that in these cases the Latin bishops appointed itinerant Greek bishops, like the *episcopus Cathamarsiliensis* from the area of Otranto, whose precise juridical status remained debatable, but who could thus at least perform a spiritual role within the Greek communities under a Latin diocesan bishop. Some decades after Tancred and Johannes Teutonicus, Godfrey of Trani disputed that a *presul* in the decretals was the same as a bishop, and considered

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[145] Interesting examples may be found in Cheney (1956), 148–9.

[146] (Laurentius) and Tancred ad III Comp. 1. 9. 3 (Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 173r and Bamberg, Can. 19, fol. 136 v; cf. n. 133) s. v. *ordinare: ita superordinatum est postea, quod nullo modo duo episcopi in eadem civitate vel diocesi (sint), sed, si episcopus loci viderit expedire propter necessitatem hominum vel linguarum, in eo casu vel aliquem discretum virum illis preficiat vel episcopum eis ordinaret, quem vicarium suum faciat, qui ei debet in omnibus esse obediens et subiectus, ut in constitutione domini Innocentii 'Quoniam in plerisque'* (= Conc. Lat. IV c. 9 = IV Comp. 1. 13. 2). *T(ancredus)*.

[147] Johannes Teutonicus ad IV Comp. 1. 13. 2 (= X 1. 31. 14) (here after Vat. lat. 1377, fol. 289r; Vat. lat. 2509, fol. 282v; Vat. Borgh. 264, fol. 238r; Vat. Chigi, E VII 207, fol. 264r; Paris. B.N. lat. 3932, fol. 208v) s. v. *vicarium: tamen habet ordinariam potestatem et facit ad hoc, quod archidiaconus habet ordinariam potestatem, licet dicatur vicarius episcopi, ut extra I de officio archidiaconi c. II* (= I Comp. 1. 15. 2). *Sic ergo aliquis, qui non est archiepiscopus, potest habere suffraganeum; similiter quandoque archiepiscopus est subditus episcopi, ut extra III de renuntiatione 'Ad supplicationem'* (= III Comp. 1. 8. 2). *Sed a quo consecrabitur iste episcopus? A suo episcopo, non a metropolitano, cum non subsit ei.* Bernard of Parma followed a similar line in the *Glossa ordinaria*, ad X 1. 31. 14 s. v. *vicarium.* On Bernard of Ragusa, see Cheney (1956), 148.

him to be a mere 'prelate' or rector. By contrast, Hostiensis was another who held the opinion that the term could refer to a bishop, even if not to a diocesan bishop but only to a 'bishop's vicar'.[148] These interpretations clarified the argument no further than those which had gone before, and the meaning of *presul* in the conciliar canon remained controversial.

We can therefore see that what was left of the Greek Church in southern Italy suffered further decline during the thirteenth century. Although the Greeks' rite was tolerated within the limits set by the decretals of Celestine III and Innocent III, canon law tended increasingly to restrict both that rite and Greek canon law. Furthermore, thirteenth-century canon lawyers undoubtedly contributed to the growing Latinisation of the Greeks in the south of Italy. Whereas canon law sources of the late twelfth century depict a peaceful symbiosis between the Latin and Greek Churches in southern Italy, a hardening of the papal stance can be observed from the time of Innocent III. This change in attitude followed the conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and the sharp dogmatic controversies between the Greek and the Roman Churches that broke out directly afterwards. Innocent III's opinions were embodied in conciliar decisions and decretals, and had in the interpretation of the decretalists even less favourable consequences for the south Italian Greek Church, which despite its long acknowledgement of papal supremacy now saw a progressive curtailment of its rite. Limits had been set out by the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council and the decretals of Innocent III; giving within this framework little room for manoeuvre for the anti-Byzantine French popes of the second half of the thirteenth century to devise their own policies towards the Greek Christians of southern Italy. The measures taken by the legate of Martin IV, the thirteenth-century pope most hostile to the Greeks, were all within the limits of traditional canon law; nor can the Synod of Melfi of 1284 be considered in any way as an anti-Greek demonstration. The

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[148] Hostiensis Comm. ad X. 1. 31. 14 s. v. *presulem: id est prelatum sive rectorem, non tamen pontificem; nomen enim presulis generale est* [. . .] *Goffr(idus). Ego intelligo etiam pontificem, id est episcopum, alioquin non posset ordines celebrare. Non tamen erit episcopus istius loci, sed episcopi vicarius* [. . .] (referring to X 1. 9. 9, the case of the Archbishop of Ragusa, which he considered similar). There were still itinerant Greek bishops at the end of the sixteenth century, who had been ordained by the Patriarch of Constantinople or by another orthodox bishop, as was revealed by the hearing at Brindisi in 1575, ed. Peri (1967), 254.

orthodox rite that survived in southern Italy right up to the modern era hardly contributed to a better understanding of the Orthodox Church. Humanism again focused attention on it. Petrarch had contacts with two Calabrians of Greek origin, the monk Barlaam from Seminara and the adventurer Leonzio Pilato. The former also taught Petrarch a certain amount of Greek.[149] The humanist popes of the fifteenth century showed a new interest and new sympathies for the Greek Church, but the basis was mainly emotive and did not lead to a lasting rapprochement between the two Churches.[150] Only the deeper theological insights of the present day have finally set this process in motion.

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[149] Weiss (1951), 45–9, Giannelli (1963), 47 ff., Hofmann (1994) is now the standard work on the relations between the popes and the Greek Church in the Late Middle Ages.
[150] De Vries (1963), 65–73.

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THE GREEK PRESENCE IN NORMAN SICILY: THE CONTRIBUTION OF ARCHIVAL MATERIAL IN GREEK[1]

Vera von Falkenhausen

Before the Normans

When Sicily was conquered by the Muslims in the ninth century, it was a province of the Byzantine Empire with a predominantly Greek culture. At least in the east of the island Greek had survived the earlier process of Romanisation and continued even into late Antiquity, as can be seen from the epigraphic evidence from the catacombs of St. John of Syracuse. Furthermore, this Greek civilisation had been subsequently bolstered by three hundred years of Byzantine rule from the year 535 onwards. A significant number of Greek lead seals have survived from various high and middle-ranking civil and military officials of the Eastern Empire who were active in Sicily between the seventh and ninth century, which bear witness to the continued presence on the island of a Greek-speaking ruling class.[2] Moreover, during the seventh century, refugees of Greek culture originally from the south-eastern provinces of the Empire, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, all of which had been conquered by the Muslims, then settled in Sicily and contributed to the re-Hellenisation of the island.[3] In the end, however, the key factor in this process was the transfer of Calabria and Sicily to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople midway through the eighth century. It is surely not coincidental that the inscriptions on the lead seals of the Sicilian bishops, which until the seventh century were in Latin, became Greek

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[1] An Italian version of this chapter will appear in the forthcoming *Atti del I Convegno internazionale di archeologia della Sicilia bizantina (Corleone, 30th July–2nd August 1998)*, Palermo 2002. This English translation is by the editors. I am grateful to Arch. Paolo Vitti who has designed the maps, and to Jeremy Johns for allowing me to read the typescript of his forthcoming book on the Royal Diwan.

[2] Borsari (1954), 156–8, Laurent (1966), 22–50, Nesbitt & Oikonomides (1991), 22–34, Kislinger & Seibt (1998), 5–13, and Manganaro (2000), 203–7.

[3] Jacob (1974), 51–9, Jacob (1976), 29–64.

in the eighth century and remained so thereafter.[4] Greek bishops of Sicily, or their representatives, participated in the ecumenical Councils of Nicea (787) and Constantinople (869/70 and 879/80), and Procopius, the Bishop of Taormina martyred at the hands of the Muslims during the capture of the city in 902, was also a Greek.[5] A number of Greek hagiographical texts from the seventh to the ninth century have survived, most of which were dedicated to the saintly bishops of the island.[6] Along with various religious and secular writings by Sicilian poets, these texts show that Sicily occupied a conspicuous place in the Byzantine cultural world.[7]

The capital of Byzantine Sicily, seat of the *strategos* (governor), the ecclesiastical metropolis and the mint, was Syracuse, an ancient harbour city of Greek origin that faced east, and which was even, from 663–8, the residence of the Emperor Constans II.[8] During the eighth and ninth century the city was the centre of Greek culture on the island and the homeland of important figures such as Methodios, Patriarch of Constantinople (843–7). It was also the metropolitan seat of Gregory Asbestas, a friend of the famous scholar Photios, who was twice patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, when Syracuse was taken by the Muslims in 878, after a siege lasting nine months, the Byzantine sources commented on the event as a monumental disaster. The monk and *grammatikos* Theodosios, a learned exponent of a secular culture, gave a vivid and dramatic eye-witness account of the fall of Syracuse in the form of a letter from prison addressed to the Archdeacon Leo.[9] As such, it is a text we might consider as the swan-song of Byzantine civilisation in Sicily.

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[4] Laurent (1963), 691–709. Examples of Latin seals include those of Bishops John and Maurice of Syracuse (*ibid.*, nos. 883–4), George of Catania (no. 893), and Theodore of Messina (no. 899). For the Greek seals, also Kislinger & Seibt (1998), 8–10.

[5] Von Falkenhausen (1978/9). *Translatio Sancti Severini auctore Johanne Diacono*, in MGH SS *Rerum Langobardorum*, 453–5.

[6] These include the *passiones* and *vitae* of S. Marcianus of Syracuse (BHG 1030), St. Pancratius of Taormina (BHG 1410), St. Zosimus of Syracuse (BHL 9026), St. Leo of Catania (BHG 981), St. Gregory of Agrigento (BHG 707).

[7] Beck (1959), 473, Hunger (1978), 43, Acconcia Longo (1978).

[8] Corsi (1983), 167–206, Herrin (1987), 263–5.

[9] Only the first part of this letter exists in the original Greek, ed. by C.O. Zuretti, in *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari*, Palermo 1910, i.165–8, although the entire text has survived in a Latin translation. O. Gaetani, *Vitae Sanctorum Siculorum*, ii (Palermo 1657), 272–7. See Lavagnini (1959/60), and Anastasi (1978/9).

During and after the Muslim conquest, which took almost seventy years, some members of the Byzantine ruling classes in Sicily emigrated to Greece and Constantinople. One thinks, for example, of the family of Joseph the Hymnographer, that of the poet Constantine, and Anastasius of Catania, the future Bishop of Methone.[10] However, the majority of the Christian population remained in their homeland, paying the *jizya* to the Arab-Muslim authorities. Despite the occasional *pogrom* against the Christians, both churches and monasteries continued to function as in other Islamic countries.[11] Christian functionaries also worked in the *amīr's* administration, such as the notary who helped St. Nilos of Rossano rescue some Calabrian monks from imprisonment on the island.[12] Arab, Berber and Andalusian immigration to Sicily is well attested, especially in the south and west of the island.[13] Indeed, we can presume that, in these areas especially, part of the Christian population had converted to Islam or was at least Arabicised. Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited Sicily in 973, disapprovingly recalled that many Muslims in rural areas were married to Christian women; their daughters continued to profess the religion of their mothers, while only the sons were Muslims.[14] Jeremy Johns has effectively described Sicily's population at this time as being spread along 'a scale of acculturation ranging from Greek Christians and Arab Muslims at the two extremes, but with most of the population of the island falling somewhere in the middle'.[15]

The Greek Christian population of Muslim Sicily was largely concentrated in the north-east, in the so-called Val Demone, and gradually abandoned the other parts of the island. Malaterra, in his account of the Norman conquest, wrote that 'the Christians who had remained in the Val Demone paid tribute to the Muslims'. In the same context, the Norman historian several times spoke of the

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[10] von Falkenhausen (1986a), 159–60.

[11] P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, i (Vienna 1975), 336–7, Ibn-al-Athir, Italian translation in Amari, *BAS* i.421. Among the churches which can be identified from this period are that of St. Cyriacus in Palermo, the seat of the archbishop, and the monasteries of St. Philip at Fragalà and St. Philip at Agira, von Falkenhausen (1986a), 160–5, and for this last church, Pasini (1999).

[12] Life of St. Nilus, c. 70, ed. MPG cxx.121, or Giovannelli (1972), 110.

[13] Abdoul Wahab & Dachraoui (1963), 433–43, Rizzitano & Fiorani Piacentini (1983), 384–5, Bresc (1985), 244–5.

[14] *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 129; translation in Kramers & Wiet (1964), 128.

[15] Johns (1995), 151–2.

population of Troina as Greek.[16] For the entire period of Muslim rule, the Greeks of the Val Demone were in constant contact both with the Arab administration and the Byzantines of the neighbouring *thema* of Calabria. They sought, and perhaps received, ecclesiastical support from the Archbishop of Reggio, as shown by the description of Archbishop Nicholas, expressed in a colophon in Cod. Vat. Gr. 1650, a *Praxapostolos* written in 1037 by a Sicilian cleric, with the phrase, 'high priest among the bishops of the land of Reggio in Calabria and of Sicily, the territory of Trinacria'.[17] During the second half of the tenth century, Greek monks, often linked to the monastery of St. Philip at Agira, like Sabas the Younger and his relations who were originally from Collesano, Luke of Demenna, Vitale of Castronuovo and Leo-Luke of Corleone, emigrated to the southern Italian peninsula. There, they were active in the promotion of monasticism and were often venerated as saints.[18] The *Vita* of Saint Sabas the Younger makes mention of monasteries founded in northern Calabria which were called 'of the Syracusans' and 'of the Taorminians'. From the same period, charters now in the archives of the abbey of Cava mention Greek migrants from Sicily who had settled in Cilento and the Salernitan hinterland.[19] In the 1050s, we find Sicilian Greeks, priests and laymen (some even with Arabic names) among the inhabitants of the newly-founded town of Oppido, in Aspromonte, as well as among those who rented and worked the lands of the archbishopric of Reggio.[20] It was at about this time that a young Sicilian, the future Saint Philaretos, moved with his parents from Sicily to Sinopoli in Calabria.[21]

On the other hand, the Val Demone also served as a military base for the Byzantines, who had never given up the idea of recovering the island. In 964, under Nikephoros II, they reconquered Syracuse, Imera, Lentini and Taormina, only to suffer a spectacular defeat at Rometta. Another campaign, organised by Basil II at

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[16] *Malaterra*, II.14, p. 33 (quote), cf. *ibid.*, II.18, 29, pp. 34–5, 39–40, and *Amatus*, V.25, p. 244.

[17] Canart & Lucà (2000), 67–8 no. 19.

[18] Borsari (1963), 50–4, Acconcia Longo (1995/6).

[19] von Falkenhausen (1986a), 165–7, Loud (2000a), 56–8.

[20] A. Guillou, *La Theotokos de Hagia-Agathè (Oppido) (1050–1064/5)* (CAG 3, 1972), 55, 62, 68, 71, 75, 82, 101, 105, 144, 152, 159 167; A. Guillou, *La Brébion de Rhègion (vers 1050)* (CAG 4, 1974), 165, 171, 173, 183, 187.

[21] Nilos, *Vita S. Filareto di Seminara*, ed. U. Martino, Reggio Calabria 1993), 50–2, Borsari (1963), 60, 123–5.

the end of his reign, was abandoned when the emperor died in 1025.[22] The campaign waged by the general George Maniakes in 1038 had initial successes in north-eastern Sicily—the Byzantine sources mention the conquest of Rometta, Troina and Messina— but in the end turned out badly for the army of Constantinople.[23] It was at this time that this well-known Byzantine general, who commanded a certain, even legendary, fame in the minds of the Sicilians, dedicated a church that he had founded in this area to the Theotokos, and to this day it bears his name. For some two years, until 1042, Messina remained in Byzantine hands.[24] Meanwhile, at some time in the tenth century, a Muslim colony with its own mosque was established in Reggio, a city where Sicilian coinage, the *tarì*, regularly circulated.[25] We might conclude that the shores of the Straits formed a buffer-zone, of which Messina was the strategic key, which lay between the Byzantine *themata* of southern Italy and the Arab-Muslim emirates of Sicily.[26]

Due to the long co-existence with their Muslim masters, cultural contacts between Greek Christians and Arabs were strong, and we know of various examples of bilingualism, such as the Greek translator of the *Kitāb Zād al-Musāfir*, a famous medical manual of Ibn al-Jazzār (d. 1004/5). This work is attributed in some manuscripts to Constantine *protasekretis* from Reggio, who must not be confused with his better-known contemporary Constantine Africanus, a monk of Montecassino, who translated the same text from Arabic into Latin.[27] Another interesting example of cultural bilingualism is found in Paris, B.N. Suppl. grec 911, which contains the text of Saint Luke's Gospel written in 1043 in Greek and Arabic by the same scribe, the cleric and *anagnostes*, Euphemius for a certain John. On the basis of some very convincing palaeographical evidence, it has recently been suggested that this manuscript was written either in southern Italy or Muslim

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[22] von Falkenhausen (1978), 28, 64–5, 104, 137–8, Loud (2000a), 23, 70.

[23] John Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, Berlin 1972, 403, 405–7. Shepard (1977/9), and Shepard (1993), 282–5.

[24] Skylitzes, 406–7, 419, Shepard (1977/9), 155–9. The church: Cusa, *Diplomi*, 397, 401; posthumous reputation, Bartolomeo of Neocastro, *Historia Sicula*, ed. G. Paladino, RIS Bologna 1922, c. 84, pp. 63–6.

[25] Ibn al-Athīr, translation in Amari, *BAS* i.421, *Amatus* V.11, p. 234. For *tarì* in Calabria, Guillou, *Brebion, passim*.

[26] *Malaterra*, III.32, p. 77: Roger I 'reckoned that this [Messina] was, more than all the other cities which he held, the key to Sicily'.

[27] Canart & Lucà (2000), 85–6 no. 30.

Sicily.[28] As far as spoken languages are concerned, Greek-Arabic bilingualism is attested in two episodes of espionage on behalf of the Normans. In the former, related by Amatus of Montecassino, Robert Guiscard had despatched a certain Peter the Deacon to the *amīr* of Palermo, officially as an ambassador, but with secret instructions to investigate the city's defence systems. We are told that he 'understood Arabic and spoke it fluently'.[29] A few years later, when trying to capture Syracuse, the Normans sent Philip, son of Gregory the *patrikios*, to that city to gather information about the enemy's army and fleet. He and the sailors who accompanied him moved among the enemy's ships without danger of being discovered 'for both he and all the sailors who were with him were most fluent in their language (Arabic) as well as Greek'.[30] Probably to remunerate him for his services, Roger I in 1091/2 issued a privilege to Philip *patrikios*, which was later confirmed by Roger II to the notary Nicholas *patrikios*, grandson of Philip, who is attested in Messina between 1144 and 1146.[31] Simon 'son of the *patrikios*' is also mentioned in documents from Messina at the end of the twelfth century.[32] It is possible that a long funerary inscription in Greek for a member of this family who had died in 1198, which is now lost but was once in the church of St. Domenica at Messina, was his.[33]

When in the 1060s, the Normans began the conquest of Sicily, Malaterra related that the Greeks of the Val Demone 'were overjoyed at the arrival of the Christians and rushed out to meet them, bringing them many offerings and gifts'. In return, Robert Guiscard and Roger I, 'treating them with the utmost kindness, promised to confer many benefits upon them should God grant them the country'.[34] But in the events that followed, the relations between the Norman conquerors and the Greeks of the Val Demone did not always remain idyllic. Indeed, one has only to think of the revolt of the Greeks of Troina who feared for the safety of their women, as

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[28] Géhin (1997).

[29] *Amatus*, V.24, p. 244.

[30] *Malaterra*, IV.2, p. 86.

[31] Seville, ADM nos. 1323, 1301, Caspar (1904), 558, reg. no. 181.

[32] Seville, ADM nos. 1325 (1182), 1374 (1188).

[33] Guillou (1996), 205–7 no. 192.

[34] *Malaterra*, II.14, p. 33. Cf. *Amatus*, V.25, pp. 244–5: 'Then the host of Christians who lived in an area called the Val Demone came to bring help to the duke, for they did not wish to be subject to the pagans, and they gave him tribute in gold and an abundance of foodstuffs'.

an example.[35] Generally, however, the Normans honoured their promises by favouring local, pre-existing monasteries such as St. Philip at Fragalà, St. Barbarus at Demenna and St. Michael at Brolo, as well as supporting new foundations and adopting into their service local dignitaries whose language skills were essential for the efficient running of the Sicilian administration.[36] We have already mentioned the family of Philip *patrikios*, to whom we might add, from Troina, the notary and later *amèras* Eugenius, founder of an important dynasty of high-level Greek officials in the service of the Normans.[37] The latter's uncle, George, was, together with other Greek notaries of Sicilian origin, put in charge of the preparations of the foundation of the *kastron* of Phokairon by Count Roger I.[38] The *protonotarius* John was attested in the entourage of Roger I between 1095 and 1097. In February 1095, he signed in Greek (a signature read incorrectly by Cusa) an Arabic register of villeins (*plateia*) conceded by Roger I to the Bishop of Catania. He may also have been involved with a more general production of such registers concerning the estates of Roger and his barons which had been undertaken at Mazara in 1092/3.[39]

At the same time, the Normans encouraged settlers from all over the Italian peninsula, and France and England to migrate to Sicily,[40] to balance the preponderance of the Muslim population that, especially in the south of the island, was a source of alarm for the new inhabitants and lords.[41] Meanwhile, some members of the new ruling class were particularly welcoming to settlers who spoke Latinate languages, for instance Roger I's brother-in-law, Henry of Paternò,

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[35] *Malaterra*, II.29, pp. 39–40. Loud (2000a), 154–5.

[36] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 383–415, von Falkenhausen (1983), Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, ii.1021 (1083/4), Scaduto (1947), 69–129, especially 69, 80–1.

[37] Jamison (1957), 33–43, Ménager (1960), 26–8, Takayama (1998), 136–7. *Amèras* is the Greek form of the Arabic *amir*.

[38] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 532–5.

[39] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 541–9. John also witnessed a comital privilege for the Bishop of Messina in April 1096, and a grant of villeins to the Carthusians of Stilo in February 1097, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 291, Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 77–8 no. 60.

[40] See Haskins (1911), 435–43, Varvaro (1980), von Falkenhausen (1987), 43–50, and for the more important landowners on the island, Tramontana (1977), and Loud (2000a), 176–9.

[41] *Libellus de Successione Pontificum Agrigenti*, ed. Collura, I *Le più antiche Carte di Agrigento* 307: Bishop Gerlandus 'built his cathedral and court building, which he completed within six years, next to the citadel for fear of the countless Saracens living in Agrigento, for there were few Christians there before the death of King William II'.

who settled the so-called 'Lombards' (i.e. north Italians) on his lands.[42] The Abbot of Lípari brought together 'men of the Latin language, whoever they might be', to populate the *castrum* of Patti,[43] while Roger I himself encouraged the settlement of Greeks from Calabria. Many former Byzantine subjects from Calabria and Apulia had fought in the Norman army for the 'liberation' of Sicily, and it is not difficult to imagine that some of these remained in the conquered island.[44] In the same way that Sicilian Greeks in the tenth and eleventh century had emigrated to southern Italy, so now many people from Calabria crossed the strait in the opposite direction, spurred on by the new prospects of colonisation. However, I do not find the idea of a 'reflux de la marée sicilienne des IXe et Xe siècles', as hypothesised by Ménager, convincing.[45] Epithets in Greek such as 'the Calabrian' or 'from Reggio' are widely diffused in Sicilian documentation of the twelfth century, but among these Calabrian immigrants one often finds, so to speak, specialised personnel. There were in particular clergy and monks, such as Luke *grammatikos*, Bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto, who was employed for at least a decade in the Christian mission in Sicily.[46] Other examples include Scolarius, chaplain of Roger I's palace at Reggio, and founder of the Greek monastery of the Holy Saviour at Bordonaro, to the south of Messina, and his brother Nicodemus.[47] Later on there was Luke of Rossano, the first Archimandrite of the Holy Saviour in Messina,[48] along with his monks from the monastery of the Patiron at Rossano, as well as Filagathos Kerameus, a monk of the same monastery and an important preacher in Palermo and other Sicilian towns.[49] All of these men worked to re-Christianise the rural population of Sicily. Similarly, notaries such as Nicholas of Mesa, chamberlain of Roger I and his son, Simon, who also founded a Greek monastery in Sicily, St. Mary of Gala,[50] as well as the judges of Palermo, Nicholas, Peter Kalumenos and

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[42] Várvaro (1981), 185–90, Messina (1996). One should note that Henry only acquired a comital title relatively late, probably after 1122, cf. *Roger II Diplomata*, 15 no. 5, Loud (2000a), 180.

[43] Recorded in a later royal diploma, *Roger II Diplomata*, 63–6 no. 23 (1133).

[44] *Amatus*, VI.13, pp. 275–6, *Malaterra*, III.20, p. 69. Calabrians were among those whom Roger I settled in the new castello of *Phokairon*, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 532–3.

[45] Ménager (1959), 22–3.

[46] Lavagnini (1964), von Falkenhausen (1983), 180–1.

[47] Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, ii.1003–1006. Scaduto (1947), 116–22.

[48] Scaduto (1947), 165–213, von Falkenhausen (1994b), 44–50.

[49] von Falkenhausen (1986a).

[50] von Falkenhausen (2000), 112–14.

Leo, all originally from Reggio,[51] and a host of others, were all indis-
pensable for the management of the administration, the writing of
public and private charters, as well as the copying of manuscripts
for newly-founded churches and monasteries.[52] It is perhaps worth
noting that in Byzantium notaries were often clerics, and that with
the marriage of priests being both permitted and widespread, the
ecclesiastical profession and notarial skills could be passed down from
father to son in the same family.

In spite of their ostentatious regard for Greek monasteries, the
Normans immediately submitted the Sicilian dioceses under the juris-
diction of the Pope, appointing trustworthy bishops almost all of
whom were of Franco-Norman origin.[53] According to Malaterra after
the conquest of Palermo, 'they recalled and restored the archbishop,
who had been expelled by the infidels and who, although he was a
Greek and a timid man, had been celebrating the Christian religion
as best he could in the poor church of St. Cyriacus'.[54] This passage
probably refers to Archbishop Nicodemus, who in 1072/3 received
a privilege from Pope Alexander II. However, by 1083, he had been
replaced by a French prelate called Alcherius.[55] We do not know
whether the opportune death of Nicodemus had rid the Normans
of the obstructive presence of a Greek archbishop, or whether they
had convinced or constrained him to retire to some monastery. There
was, indeed, an abbot of the same name attested in the years up to
1097 at the monastery of the Theotokos in Vicari, near Palermo.[56]
From the east of the island we have the example of Bishop Jacob,
or James (whose see is not mentioned), who ended his days around
1103 in the monastery of St. John at Fiumefreddo, between Catania
and Messina.[57] Nonetheless, it does not seem that the creation of a
set of Latin bishops, with the cathedral canons who pertained to
them, immediately contributed to a wide diffusion of Latin culture,
since in fact it took more than two generations before there was a
competent class of Latin notaries on the island.

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[51] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 33, 108, 666, 688, *Documenti inediti*, 75 no. 30, 87 no. 36.
[52] For the Calabrian cultural contribution to twelfth-century Sicily, see especially
Lucà (1993a), 38–43, Lucà (1993b), 167–78, 191–9.
[53] Kamp (1995), 64–8.
[54] *Malaterra*, II.45, p. 53, cf. *Amatus*, VI.19, p. 282.
[55] *Italia Pontificia*, x.228–30 nos. 19–20, 24. Kamp (1995), 66, 80, and above p. 219.
Alcherius was a name that was widely used in medieval France, Morlet (1971), 28.
[56] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 4–6.
[57] *Ibid.*, 552–4, Ménager (1956/7), 167–9, Ménager (1959), 16–17.

A survey of the Greek documentation[58]

No Sicilian documents from the Islamic period have survived, nor
are we directly aware of any that may have once existed, although
it would seem that the Normans had found and made use of the
cadastral registers drawn up by the Muslim administration.[59] The
extant archival documentation for the island only begins with the
Norman Conquest in the later eleventh century. Furthermore, and
this is certainly not attributable merely to the vagaries of source
transmission, this documentation—at least until the death of Roger
II—is primarily in Greek. This holds true not only for private, but
also for public documents. It seems odd that the Normans, con-
querors of an island that was widely-Islamicised after more than two
centuries of Muslim rule and who were subjects of the pope, should
have immediately settled Franco-Latin bishops in every Sicilian dio-
cese, yet still used Greek as their language of choice in official com-
munications with their subjects for more than two generations. As
such, this raises the question as to whether the proportion of Greeks
within the Sicilian population might have been sufficiently strong,
despite two centuries of Arabic rule, and their culture so deep-rooted,
as to justify the widespread use of their language. Alternatively, were
there other non-demographic factors which determined this decision?
It strikes me that we are dealing with a choice that was almost oblig-
atory. While the principal components of the Norman duchy on the
mainland, Campania and Apulia, were regions of solid, and some-
times even quite advanced Latin culture, the county of Calabria, or
at least its southern part, and Sicily under Roger I were areas that
had for centuries lacked any local tradition of Latin culture. Yet,
they possessed, especially in some Calabrian towns such as Reggio,
a notarial class which was imbued with Byzantine culture, and which
had already given a good account of itself in the service of the new
lords even before the conquest of Sicily. So it seems only logical that

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[58] This research is based on a study of all the known Greek charters, both pri-
vate and governmental, published and unpublished, redacted in Sicily between the
eleventh and the fourteenth centuries. This includes (1) bilingual Greek and Latin,
and Greek and Arabic, documents (2) documents originally written in Greek which
are only preserved in Latin or Italian translation (3) forged documents, given that
these were for the most part based on genuine originals, and (4) those *deperdita*
which were undoubtedly redacted in Greek.

[59] An issue which will be discussed by Johns (2002).

in the absence of Latin notaries, the Normans had recourse to Greek ones, who after all could rely on their cultural affinity with one part of the Sicilian population. Hence, the primary purpose of this chapter is to study the relationship between the actual presence of Greeks in medieval Sicily and the use and spread of their language, based upon a systematic analysis of the documentation in Greek.

The maps attached to this chapter serve to illustrate the distribution of medieval Greek documents within the island. This distribution is not homogeneous, either in terms of geography, chronology or even typology. Map IV shows the Sicilian recipients of comital or royal charters from Roger I to King Tancred (up to 1194 therefore). Roger I's Sicilian charters are particularly problematic since hardly any original charters have survived, either in Greek or Latin. Most of Roger's charters were probably written on paper, an especially fragile medium for writing and one which easily deteriorates— indeed this was sometimes expressly mentioned in later parchment copies of his Greek documents. By the later Middle Ages, when the comprehension of Greek texts was becoming ever more uncertain, many documents were translated into Latin, and it would seem that during this process they often underwent some modification or updating, while the originals unfortunately disappeared. Apart from the two bilingual Greek-Arabic registers of serfs for the churches of Catania and Palermo, the earliest original charters for Sicilian recipients that are known to be genuine date back to the period of Countess Adelaide's regency, which began in 1101.[60] From then until the death of Roger II in 1154, the ratio of Latin to Greek charters for Sicilian recipients is about 1:5. The Greek charters of Roger I, the regent Adelaide and Roger II generally bear their respective signatures in Greek. Although these were not in fact autograph signatures, they nonetheless highlight a hallmark of the Byzantine notarial tradition, which provided the diplomatic models for the Normans' public documents in Greek.[61] But under the later kings this situation was completely altered. Not only did the sovereigns' signatures in Greek disappear, but the Greek documentary output of the royal chancery was also drastically diminished, while that in Latin for Sicilian recipients greatly increased. Under William I (1154–66) the ratio of Latin to Greek charters became 3:1, while during the long

[60] von Falkenhausen (1998a), 275–7.
[61] von Falkenhausen (1998a), 279–86, Breccia (1999).

and better-documented reign of William II (1166–89) the ratio reached 15:1. One should point out that only three charters of William II were composed entirely in Greek, while four are bilingual Latin and Greek (of which two were issued by his mother), and four are Arabic and Greek—in which the Greek parts are restricted to transliterations of the Arabic names of villeins, and giving some indication of their numbers—the rest of the text being drafted entirely in Arabic.[62] During the reigns of Tancred and his son William III (1190–4), we know of only one bilingual Latin-Greek charter (granted to the Greek monastery of St. Philip at Fragalà), compared to ten in Latin.[63] The only charter in Greek known from the time of Empress Constance is a bilingual Latin-Greek privilege of 1195 for the Greek Archimandrite of St. Elias of Carbone in Basilicata.[64]

It is difficult to attribute the abandonment of Greek by the royal chancery after the death of Roger II to demographic causes alone. It seems more likely that, after over half a century of Norman rule, a Latin or bilingual notarial class had developed. Moreover, with the foundation of the kingdom, competent Latin scribes from Apulia and Campania, and even from England, took up posts in the royal chancery, which needed their skills, for the population of the kingdom as a whole, compared to that of Calabria and Sicily, was overwhelmingly of Latin culture.[65] The increased documentary output in Arabic can be explained by the creation of the *duana regia* in the early 1130s. This was an institution that worked mainly through registers drawn up in Arabic by suitably specialised chancery officials.

So far as the geographic distribution of charters is concerned, one can see from the map that most recipients of Greek charters resided in northern Sicily. This region included the two great cities of Messina (the only one to be called *megalopolis*) and Palermo. These two cities were the principal comital, and later royal, residences. It was here where the rulers' charters were generally written and they also acted the focal points of the island's political and economic life. In addition, a number of documents were issued for recipients from the Val Demone, where from the early stages of the Norman conquest onwards, Roger I and his heirs had founded, revived and granted

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[62] Enzensberger (1995), 58, 67.

[63] *Tancred Diplomata*, 72–5 no. 30.

[64] *Constance Diplomata*, 14–19 no. 4.

[65] On the origins (generally not from Sicily) of the Latin notaries in the royal chancery, see Enzensberger (1971), 47–76, Kölzer (1986), and Zielinski (1998).

concessions to various Greek monasteries.[66] Many recipients were in fact the abbots of these monasteries. Thus, 21 charters were issued to St. Philip at Fragalà, and 17 to the Archimandrite of the Holy Saviour at Messina. But far from being issued only to Greek recipients, many Greek, Greek-Latin and Greek-Arabic privileges were granted to the episcopal churches of Troina, Messina, Palermo, Catania, Cefalù, Lípari and Monreale, and to Latin monasteries such as St. Bartholomew on the island of Lípari, St. Maria Latina at Messina, St. Mary Magdalene at Corleone and St. George at Gratteri, as well as to Norman barons or other Latin subjects. The latter included people such as Gervasius Alcherius, Lord of Ficarra; Moriella, widow of Josbert de Luci; Walter Gavarecta; Ogerus, the Genoese consul at Messina; members of the Venetian community of Palermo, and Adelina, the wet-nurse of Roger II's son, Henry, to name but a few. Up until the mid-twelfth century, the contents of the privilege had more of a bearing on the choice of the language in which it was written than the ethnicity or religious and cultural background of the recipient. Charters that contained donations of land, accompanied by the relevant cadastral descriptions, and grants of villeins who were listed by name, were generally written in Greek. However, where the lands or villeins conceded were in a part of the island where the population was predominantly Arabic, the diploma was often bilingual, in that a cadastral description of the land in Arabic and/or an Arabic transliteration of the names of the villeins was added to the Greek text.[67] Even customs' privileges or mandates directed to officials assigned to state monopolies were usually bilingual in Greek and Arabic, like the *entalma* (mandate) of Adelaide to the *exousiastai, vicecomites* and *kaites* of Castrogiovanni in 1109, and the customs' privileges granted to the bishops of Cefalù in 1132 and Lípari in 1134.[68]

Thus, insofar as charters from Sicily are concerned, Greek turned out to be the predominant language in use in the chancery of the

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[66] Scaduto (1947), 80–97, and for their physical remains, Filangieri (1980).

[67] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 130–4 (Roger II for the monastery of St. Mary Magdelene at Corleone, 1151), von Falkenhausen (2000), 126–8. See also the good, albeit small, photograph of an unpublished privilege of Roger II for the archimandritate of Messina in 1141, in the 1994 catalogue, *Messina. Il Ritorno della memoria*, 233, from Seville, ADM no. 1120. William II's Greek-Arabic diplomas for Monreale were exceptional, in that the Greek element was there limited to the transliteration of the names of the villeins, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 134–79, 245–86.

[68] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 402–3, 517–19, Spata, *Pergamene*, 426–8.

Norman counts and kings up until c. 1150, irrespective of the ethnic origins of individual recipients. But leaving the recipients aside, it is also worth looking at the other people mentioned in these charters, namely those who were participants or witnesses in judicial proceedings, those who were the owners of lands that bordered on properties granted by such charters, and even the villeins who were listed therein.

Several conclusions result from such an analysis. First, the names of almost all the villeins listed in donations and registers from the Val di Noto, the Val di Mazara, and the southern part of the Val Demone (in particular from Aci, Corleone, Sciacca, Termini, Misilmeri, Vicari, Calatrasi and Mazara) are Arabic.[69] On the other hand, if our documentation is to be believed, the names of villeins in the northern part of the Val Demone, where they were admittedly much fewer than in other regions, were mainly Greek.[70] Nevertheless, we occasionally find villeins with Arabic names even in the Val Demone (for example at Nasari, Gualtieri Sicaminò, Castroreale[71] and Librizzi),[72] as well as Greeks among the villeins of western Sicily, as for example, at Vicari.[73]

Secondly, the people among the kings' entourage who witnessed these donations and who were mentioned in the relevant charters were for the most part Latins, especially bishops and canons of the churches that received such privileges and members of the land-owning nobility.[74] When reference is made in a document to a previous *diachorismos* (an inquiry to establish boundaries), the officials responsible (*stratigoi, vicecomites* or *qā'id-s*) are cited, along with various local notables. In the Val Demone such men were mainly Greeks, whereas in the rest of the island they were usually Latins and Arabs.[75] Good examples of this practice are the cadastal descriptions of the *casale* of Mutata, granted by Roger II to the church of Cefalù in 1132,

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[69] See Gregoire (1932), 82–5, De Simone (1979), and in general on Arab villeins in Sicily, Nef (2000).

[70] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 393, 395, 479–80, Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, ii.1043 (though this edition of the Latin translation of a Greek privilege of Roger II for St. Maria di Gala is incomplete).

[71] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 290, 513–14. *Documenti inediti*, 12, 17.

[72] *Les Actes Grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, ed. A. Guillou (Palermo 1963), 51–5 no. 3.

[73] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 4–6.

[74] E.g. Ménager (1956/7), 170–1 (1125), Cusa, *Diplomi*, 313 (1143), Spata, *Pergamene*, 426–7 (1132), Collura (1955), 610–11 (1142).

[75] E.g. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 404, 407, 525–7.

and of the *casale* of Mirto near Partenico, given by·the same king to the church of Patti in 1133. Both inquiries had been carried out by Latin and Arab notables on the instructions of George of Antioch, but the respective charters were drawn up in Greek or in Greek and Arabic.[76] Greek was also the sole language of Roger II's charter to the Abbot of Lípari containing the inquiry into the boundaries of the *casale* of Focerò, carried out in 1142 by some Norman barons and Greek officials and with the help of a fair number of local notables, some of 'Lombard' origin.[77]

Thirdly, one or two high-ranking Greek administrative officials from a notarial background are generally named, who were responsible for the technical execution of royal donations, transactions and sentences. Thus, under Roger I we find the *protonotarius* John of Troina, the Calabrian *camerarius* Nicholas of Mesa and the notary Bonos. Under Adelaide, the last two remained in service (Nicholas until 1105), while from the year 1107 the *amèras* Christodoulos took over.[78] Bonos and Christodoulos remained in service even under Roger II, who also took on Bonus' son, the justiciar Roger, as well as the sons of the admiral Eugenius, the *logothete* Philip, the *amèras* and *hetaireiarches* John and Nicholas, the treasurer Basil and the *amèras* Theodore.[79] Under Roger II, the celebrated George of Antioch '*archon* of *archons* and *amīr* of *amīr-s*' then became head of the royal administration. He was a Byzantine of Syrian origins who, after a long spell as vizier at the Zirid court, fled to Sicily in 1108. It would seem that, around 1125, George ruthlessly ousted the aged Christodoulos to become the most powerful figure at the Norman court until his death in 1151.[80] His cultural portfolio brought together bureaucratic experiences from Byzantine and Arab traditions, and he can be considered as the directing force behind the reorganisation of the royal administration.

Fourthly, the scribes who drew up and actually wrote the comital and royal charters remained anonymous, a custom which the Greek chancery of the Normans had inherited from Byzantium. As their names are never mentioned in the charters, we hardly know

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[76] Spata, Pergamene, 426–7, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 515–17.

[77] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 525–7.

[78] von Falkenhausen (1998b), 100–2.

[79] Takayama (1993), 49–55. Bonus and Basil were, for example, among the witnesses at a comital court at Bagnara in 1116, *Roger II Diplomata*, 13–5 no. 5, at p. 15.

[80] Takayama (1993), 53, 66–8, 90–1, De Simone (1999), 276–85.

anything about the personnel or the running of the Greek chancery.[81] However, given the relatively large number of Greek documents written in different hands, we can assume that there were many (albeit anonymous) Greek scribes engaged in compiling, checking and drafting charters. In addition to these, a certain number of Greek-speakers would have been needed in the employment of the recipients, and also in the various towns or provinces, to read, understand and make sense of royal privileges.

Map V gives a survey of the places in Sicily where private, episcopal and baronial documents were drafted during the Norman period and also where administrative and judicial acts were drawn up in Greek.[82] As we have already said, from the moment the Normans introduced a rigorously Roman ecclesiastical system during the eleventh century, with bishops of predominantly Franco-Norman origins, episcopal documents were almost exclusively in Latin, normally written by canons or chaplains of the same church.[83] Of the few that are in Greek, these with one exception come from the chancery of the bishops, and later archbishops, of Messina and were composed for the benefit of Greek churches and monks in that diocese.[84] As is shown in 1177 by a document of Archbishop Nicholas,

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[81] von Falkenhausen (1998a), 268–75. The only Greek diploma in which a notary is named, one of Roger I for the abbey of Lipari, is of doubtful authenticity, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 510.

[82] I have classified as 'private documents' both those drawn up by the official *taboularioi* of the various towns and those written by other notaries and clerics for private clients, as well as those written by monks for their own monastery. For historical rather than diplomatic reasons, I have created a separate category for the privileges of Norman barons and other persons of high-rank such as George of Antioch and Roger I's godson, the Arab 'Roger' Ahmed who possessed seigneurial rights over lands and villeins. The third category comprises the *diachorismoi* or boundary inquiries and the legal judgements pronounced by *vicecomites*, local *stratigoti* and the judges of the royal court.

[83] E.g. for Messina, *Les Actes Latins de S. Maria di Messina (1103–1250)*, ed. L.-R. Ménager (Palermo 1963), 47–8 no. 1 (1103), *I Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina* [above, p. 175], nos. 5, 11, 15, 18–20, 24 and 27; for Cefalù, *Documenti Inediti*, nos. 26, 32, 38, 40, 43, 59, 81, 83, 99–100, 102, and 109; for Lipari-Patti see the calendar in Kamp & Girgensohn (1965), 9–34, nos. 30, 48, 55, 59, and 64; for Agrigento, *Le più antiche carte*, nos. 13, 18–20, and 31, and for Palermo, *Documenti Inediti*, 9–11 no. 3 (1113).

[84] The bilingual document of William, 'Archbishop of Messina and Troina' for St. Philip of Fragalà, dated 1117, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 416–17, is undoubtedly a forgery. The *sigillion* of Archbishop Hugh of 1135/6 for St. Basil of Castiglione di Sicilia, with the archbishop's name in both Latin and Greek at its head, was drawn up by Nikephoros, *protopapas* of Messina and signed in Latin by the canons of Messina and in Greek by Niketas, *protopapas* of Castiglione, Seville, ADM no. 1288, the edition

the prelates of Messina, even during the second half of the twelfth century, still made use of Greek notaries for the drafting of Greek documents. In fact, all sorts of ecclesiastical institutions, including Latin monasteries, employed Greek notaries for administrative tasks. Two Greeks are mentioned in 1129 as humble notaries in the service of the Bishop of Mazara (*euteles notarios episcopou Mazarion*).[85] In the 1130s and 40s, the nuns of St. Mary in Messina employed a Greek notary as 'bailiff of all the properties at our holy convent'.[86] Notes made in Greek on the back of a Latin donation charter of 1165 for the (Latin) monastery of St. George at Gratteri indicate that the administration at this church was also managed by a Greek notary.[87]

The oldest and most debated episcopal document is the diploma (*sigillion*) of the Bishop Jacob or James, of an unknown see, that was drafted in Catania in 1103, furnished with a (now lost) lead seal in the manner of Byzantine bishops, and undersigned by various officials, notaries and Greek clerics.[88] It has been said that the author, a Greek who, in this same document, and shortly before his death, bequeathed to Angerius, the first Bishop of Catania, the monastery of St. John at Fiumefreddo which had previously been granted to him by Roger I, must therefore have been either a bishop of Taormina or else an 'auxiliary bishop of the Greek rite for the Greeks in the territory of the diocese of Catania'.[89] However, there is also the possibility that he may have been a former Greek bishop, either of Catania or alternatively of the Val Demone, who had been forced to retire, albeit honourably, to a monastery by Roger I when the new Latin see of Catania had been created.[90]

by Cusa, *Diplomi*, 297–8, is defective. The unpublished charter of Archbishop Nicholas for the Holy Saviour at Bordenaro in 1177 was written by the priest Constantine, 'our Greek notary', and signed by the canons in Latin, Seville, ADM no. 1261, while a charter of Archbishop Berard for a monk called Philaretos in 1197, also unpublished, had the archbishop's name in Greek as its *superscriptio* and was signed in Latin by the canons, but does not name the scribe, Seville, ADM no. 1313.

[85] Gregoire (1932), 101–4.
[86] *Actes Grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, 67–77 no. 6.
[87] *Il Tabulario di Belmonte*, ed. E. Mazzarese Fardella (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, I.30, Palermo 1983), 3 no. 1.
[88] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 552–4, Ménager (1956/7), 167–9.
[89] Enzensberger (1995b), 33.
[90] A Greek Archbishop of Catania, Leo, had taken part in a synod at Constantinople in 997, MPG cxix.741, hence the see appears to have survived the Muslim conquest.

Latin documents were also in the majority among those issued by Norman barons in the south-central and western parts of Sicily.[91] However, during the first half of the twelfth century, many Norman barons, and in particular, those with fiefs in northern Sicily and along the eastern coast, also used Greek for donations to both Latin and Greek recipients. Among them, we find for example, relatives of the reigning family such as Tancred de Hauteville, lord of Syracuse and of the Val di Noto, a nephew of Roger I, for whom three Greek documents are known. These are grants in favour of the Calabrian monastery of St. Julian near Rocca Fallucca (1100/1), the church of Catania (1102), and the Greek monk Elias, founder of the monastery of St. John at Lentini (1116).[92] Roger I's son, Godfrey of Ragusa, issued a *privilegium scriptum sermone greco* for the church of Catania.[93] Duke Roger of Apulia, the eldest son of Roger II and lord of Petralia, granted a *sigillion* in favour of the monastery of St. Cosmas *tou Gonatou* ('of the knee') in 1142;[94] while Simon, Count of Paternò and Piazza Armerina, a cousin and loyal supporter of Roger II, made donations to the churches of Catania (1141) and Troina (1151 or 1157) with *sigillia* in Greek, as well as to the Latin monastery of St. Mary at Licodia. Just like the king, he used a Greek signature, although once again probably not an autograph.[95] In addition, Greek privileges were issued by the Norman lords of Caccamo, Galati, Mistretta, Cammarata, Gratteri, Caltavulturo, Naso, Vizzini and Mineo, and by William Borrell who held property in the Piana di Milazzo.[96] The majority of these lords also issued Latin documents.[97] It would seem that the choice of language did not depend on either the ethnic or cultural origins of the recipients, nor on the nature of the business, but rather on the availability of scribes who might be skilled in one or the other language. Moreover, like the counts and kings of Sicily, the entourage of their barons, cited in various doc-

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[91] E.g. by Roger I's brother-in-law Henry of Paternò and his family, the barons in the hinterland of Agrigento, those who settled in the Madonie region like King Roger's niece Adelicia (for whom Garufi (1912), 353–62), and the Norman lord of Cefalù attested in 1121, Garufi (1928), 89–90.

[92] Pometti (1901), 267–9 no. 1, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 549–51, Seville, ADM no. 1227.

[93] B. De Grossis, *Catana Sacra*, Catania 1654, 65–6, Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.524–5.

[94] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 310–11, de Andrés (1983).

[95] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 310, 315–16, 557–62.

[96] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 411–15, 423–6, 481–3, 531, 615–18, White (1938), 247 no. 4, 249 no. 6, *Constance Diplomata*, 170–1 no. 35. von Falkenhausen (2000), 129–31.

[97] E.g. Tancred of Syracuse, Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, i.619–20 (1104), ii.1242 (1103); Godfrey of Ragusa, *ibid.*, i.524–5 (1120); Count Simon, *ibid.*, ii.933.

uments in both Greek and Latin, consisted mainly of their Norman vassals and other Latin followers, churchmen and laymen, and often too craftsmen and merchants originally from northern Italy. The Greek element in these *clientela* was generally limited to the notaries who had drawn up and written the document and to the *strategoi* (in the Latin documents often rendered as *stratigoti*) and *vicecomites* (always from a notarial background) who administered the Normans' feudal estates. In addition to these, there would have been the odd Greek priest or archpriest (*protopapas*) from the local church. Just as royal charters in Greek became very rare after the death of Roger II, so too did baronial documents. In this context it is striking that a donation of the lord of Vizzini to the monastery of Lípari of 1105 had been officially translated into Latin as early as 1130.[98] The last baronial documents written in Greek are those of the lords of Naso in the Val Demone, which was one of the bastions of Sicilian Greek culture.[99]

Insofar as administrative and judicial documents are concerned, we can broadly divide them into two categories. First, there were sentences passed by *vicecomites* and local *strategoi* or by judges from the royal court. Secondly, there were documents that relate to the alienation or reorganisation of royal property drawn up by officials from the *duana regia* and the *diachorismoi* (boundary inquiries and verific-ations) carried out on their orders.

Most of the surviving judgements passed in Greek had been issued by Greek officials such as the *vicecomes* of Rometta, the *strategoi* of Demenna, Messina, Castiglione di Sicilia and Centuripe, and by the *komes galaias* (the senior naval officer who was also responsible for fleet logistics) in Messina.[100] These involved cases disputed between Greek litigants, but there also exists a judgement in Greek, pronounced by the Greek *strategos* of Messina in a legal case of 1152, in which both parties were Latin.[101] This was, however, the last mention of a Greek *strategos* at Messina. Shortly afterwards Richard of Aversa, attested between 1155 and 1168, became the first of a series of Latin *strategoi*. He and his successors presided over cases between Greek and Latin litigants, but they continued to issue judgements in

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[98] White (1938), 249 no. 6.

[99] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 423–6, 456–8.

[100] Respectively Cusa, *Diplomi*, 367–8 (1095), 418–19 (1121), Seville, ADM no. 1301 (1145/6), and 1255 (1171), Cusa, *Diplomi*, 432–4 (1183), 368–71 (1176).

[101] *Actes Grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, 88–90 no. 8 (1152).

Greek.[102] On the other hand, in legal cases presided by judges from the royal court, a judicial body consisting of both Greek and Latin members, it would seem that the language of the sentence was chosen according to the cultural background of the addressee. Thus, Greek was used in judgements in favour of the Archimandrite of the Holy Saviour at Messina, in a legal case against the Bishop of Catania in 1143,[103] and for the Abbot of St. Philip at Fragalà in 1182,[104] whereas Latin was used for Norman barons and for Latin religious institutions.[105] Occasionally, judgements were composed in both Latin and Greek such as the one made by the *magister iusticiarius magne curie*, Sanctorus, a Latin-speaking official, in favour of the Archimandrite of the Holy Saviour, Messina, in 1185.[106] But, in any case, all the judgements made in Greek known to us come from the Val Demone, apart from one verdict from a Greek-Arabic court in Palermo in 1123. This court, in which an Arabic document for the defence was produced, consisted of the *ameras* Christodoulos, a Greek judge called Nicholas of Reggio, the *qāḍī* of Palermo and three other Arabic officials, as well as the chief notary Abū l-Dawī. The verdict, published in the form of a diploma in the name of Roger II, was in favour of the widow of Josbert de Lucy.[107] At Messina, where the frequent presence of the royal court attracted many high-ranking officials, Greek judgements were issued, even by Calabrian judges with regard to cases in their own province.[108]

The *duana regia* was probably based on Fatimid models and created in the early years of the 1130s by George of Antioch, the 'prime minister' of Roger II, in order to manage crown property rights in Sicily and Calabria and to check any relevant grants of land and men.[109] However, this had been part of George of Antioch's responsibilities even before the royal coronation of Roger II. In a Greek

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[102] *Actes Latins de S. Maria di Messina*, 37–40, Seville, ADM no. 1321. He was dismissed in 1168 for abuse of his office, *Falcandus*, 131–2 [*Tyrants*, 183–4]. Greek judgements: Cusa, *Diplomi*, 362–4 (1171), 326–30 (1172).

[103] Seville, ADM no. 420; there is also a Latin version, *Roger II Diplomata*, 267–8 appendix II no. 4 [= White (1938), 260–1 no. 18].

[104] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 427–32.

[105] *Actes Latins de S. Maria di Messina*, 91–3 no. 7 (1158), Siragusa (1929), 425–8 (1162), Jamison (1967), 331–9 (1168).

[106] Seville, ADM no. 1413 (1185). The Latin version of the judgement was published by Garufi (1913), 358–60. On the career of Sanctorus, Jamison (1967), 327–8.

[107] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 471–2.

[108] E.g. Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 310–11 no. 230 (1192).

[109] Takayama (1993), 81–9, Johns (1993), 138–9, and Johns (2002), forthcoming.

document from 1126, which is still unpublished, the *vicecomes* of Maniace in the Val Demone, a notary called Arcadius, reported that his master, the logothete Philip, had made a request to the 'first lord' (*protos authentes*), the *amèras* George, to entrust some demesne lands to his cousin in return for an annual rent, and on George's orders, Arcadius went ahead with consigning the lands requested. Almost all the people present at the transaction, evidently local notables, have Greek names.[110]

The personnel of the *duana regia* worked in all three languages, as is shown by the famous miniature in Peter of Eboli's *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, which depicts *notarii graeci*, *notarii saraceni* and *notarii latini* sitting beneath three arches in the palace in Palermo.[111] It would seem that at first the chosen language of the *duana regia* was Greek. However, when its officials began working primarily on registers in Arabic, the role of the Arabic notaries became progressively more important. Only towards the end of the Norman period did they also use Latin. By this time a bilingual and even trilingual class of notaries had developed in Palermo, occupying a position of power, and generating fear, and at times hatred, in the kingdom's capital. Yet they also represented a pivotal point in Sicilian culture which at that time expressed itself in all three languages. One has only to think, for example, of George of Antioch's Greek iambic epitaph for his mother and wife; of the long poem in Greek dedicated to that same *amīr* George by an anonymous former colleague or dependant exiled to Malta; and of the poetry and translations from Greek and Arabic of the *amīr* Eugenius from Palermo.[112] One might also point to the verses of the Muslim academic, man of letters and chief notary in the early 1120s, Abū l-Daw'.[113] Finally we have the *Historia* of the so-called 'Hugo Falcandus', an otherwise unknown Latin historian who shows significant inside knowledge of the *duana regia*.[114] The complex linguistic situation in the *duana regia* explains the large number of bilingual documents written on the orders of the *magistri duanae de secretis* or ἐπί τοῦ σεκρέτου as they were called in Greek, written in

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[110] Seville, ADM no. 1382,
[111] *Liber ad Honorem Augusti* (1994 ed.), 59.
[112] Acconcia Longo (1981), Tsolakis (1973), Jamison (1957), especially 61–79.
[113] De Simone (1999), 3–15.
[114] See here *Tyrants*, 42–50. The identification by Jamison of Eugenius as the author of this work is not convincing.

Greek and Arabic, Arabic and Greek, Latin and Greek or Latin and Arabic. However, it is difficult to establish the criteria on which the choice of language might have depended. Certainly, there existed no hard and fast rules, but it seems that it did not depend simply on the cultural affinity of the recipient, nor on that of the particular official in charge of the administrative task in hand, but rather on geographical criteria. Thus, two documents from 1149 and 1154 issued to the monastery of St. Nicholas at Chúrchuro, near Palermo, were written in Arabic only.[115] So too was the 1141 register of villeins (*jarīdat al-rijāl*) for another Greek monastery, that of St. George at Triocalà, near Sciacca.[116] On the other hand, two documents relating to crown property issued at Messina, one for a Greek at Gerace in Calabria (1191) and the other for a Latin burgher from Messina in 1195, were both drawn up in Greek by the *epi tou sekretou Eugenios tou Kalou*, a Palermitan Greek with an Arabic background.[117] However, in 1175, this same functionary drew up a document in Greek and Arabic, to settle a dispute that had arisen over the boundaries of some *casalia* located in the Madonie Hills.[118] Even documents promulgated on the order of the *archontes tou sekretou* by local officials in the Val Demone, like the *stratigoi* of Messina and Castiglione di Sicilia, or the two *magistri foresterii* operating in the area of Capizzi, were made in Greek.[119] Documents written in Palermo relating to property within the city and in the neighbouring *casale* of Misilmeri, as well as the grant of the archdeaconry of Messina to the archbishop of that city, were written partly in Greek and in Arabic.[120]

Boundary inquests (*diachorismoi*) are particularly important for demographic research because, although they were carried out on the

[115] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 28–30, 34–6. Johns & Metcalfe (1999).

[116] Seville, ADM no. 1119. Galvez (1995).

[117] Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 310–11 no. 230, *Actes Grecs de S. Maria di Messina*, 140–1 no. 17. For this Eugenius, not to be confused with his better-known homonym, Jamison (1957), 56–9, 162–3.

[118] Spata, *Pergamene*, 451–6 no. 11 (preserved only in a Latin translation of 1286).

[119] Seville, ADM no. 1405 (1159), a document signed in Greek by John, an official of the *duana*, but in Arabic by two other such officials; ibid., no. 1255 (1171), Cusa, *Diplomi*, 484–6 (1168).

[120] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 622–6 (1161), the Greek text of which was written not by a notary of the *duana* but by the *taboularios* of Palermo on the instructions of the *epi tou sekretou* Martin and Matthew; Cusa, *Diplomi*, 80–3, Ménager (1960), 214–20 (1172); Cusa, *Diplomi*, 321 (1167), who published only the Greek part of this text [Seville, ADM no. 1118, illustrated in *Messina. Il Ritorno della memoria* (1994), 236 no. 36].

orders and under the control of high-ranking, royal officials, they needed the on-the-spot help of the leading men (*gerontes, shaykh-s* or *boni homines*) from nearby towns, whose names are often mentioned in the text of the document, thus providing some idea of the ethnic composition of these places. Such onomastic evidence is undoubtedly not always very reliable, and must be used with great caution. For instance, names from a Biblical repertoire and those from the ancient Christian tradition were used by Latins, Greeks and Arabs alike, and in the later part of the twelfth century, many Germanic names, imported by the Normans, were adopted even by Greeks and Arabs. Nevertheless, one does not usually find Normans with Greek or Arabic names, nor indeed Greeks with Arabic names, and in some cases surnames and patronymics can also be used to reach admissible conclusions. For example, the *archontes* of the Val Demone who established the boundaries of the *kastron* of *Phokairon*, south of Patti in the 1090s on the orders of Roger I, were all Greeks, bar one. He was called 'Melis the Frank from Troina' and was probably originally from Apulia, but living in Troina.[121] Between the years 1142 and 1154, three boundary definitions in Greek have survived relating to the boundaries of *casalia* belonging to the church of Messina, which were carried out on the orders of high-ranking royal functionaries, respectively the protonotary Philip, the *amèras* George of Antioch, and Count Simon (the cousin of Roger II), along with the judges of Castrogiovanni and Demenna. They had the help of the leading inhabitants of a number of *castella* to the west of Mount Etna, such as Troina, Centuripe, Gagliano, Adrano, Agira and Cerami. An analysis of the names there reveals that the notables from Troina were split between the Latin canons of the local church, which was the secondary cathedral of the archbishop of Messina, and Greek *gerontes* with their *strategos*. The notables of Centuripe and their *strategos* were also Greek, as were those of Agira. Greeks were in the majority at Cerami, whereas Latin and Arabic names were predominant at Castrogiovanni, Adrano and Gagliano.[122] The notables from Castiglione di Sicilia present at a boundary inquest ordered by the 'Great Secretary' (*megas sekretikos*), *qā'id* Richard in 1172, were

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[121] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 532–4, the name Mel/Melis was of Armenian origin, and was widely used in medieval Apulia, Martin (1993), 518–20.

[122] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 302–6, 306–10, 317–21 (a not entirely reliable transcription). The problems relating to these documents, which survive in various different copies, are discussed by Rognoni (1998).

all Greek, as was their *strategos*.[123] On the other hand, those mentioned in the bilingual Latin-Greek boundary inquest for the church of St. Lucy at Syracuse, also in 1172, which was drawn up and confirmed by the local Greek *strategos*, were Latin and Arabic *burgenses*.[124] In the north-central areas, Latin notables predominated, as for example, at Capizzi in 1168.[125] Sometimes Latin and Arabic names are found, together with the occasional Greek notary or priest, as is shown by the inspection of the boundaries of the *casale* of Charse (in the Madonie) in 1175 in the presence of the *gerontes* of Miccichè, Casabella, Cassaro, Gulfa, Ciminna, Petralia, Caltavulturo and other places.[126] The list of those present at the boundary definition of the *casale* of Sarane near Misilmeri in 1172, which had earlier been given by George of Antioch to the church of the Theotokos (St. Mary of the Admiral) he had founded at Palermo, is rather unusual. The group of local *gerontes* was made up of local *vicecomites*, Greeks, Muslims, and some Arab-Christians, while the *sekretikos*, Geoffrey of Centuripe (referred to in the Arabic half of the text as *Ṣāḥib Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Maʿmūr*) who presided over the proceedings, was accompanied by the son of the deceased donor and by various Greeks and 'Arabs' belonging to the class of high-ranking Palermo functionaries.[127]

The largest number of documents in any one category are private deeds. The map clearly illustrates how private documentation is concentrated around the two great cities of northern Sicily, Messina and Palermo, both comital, and later royal, residences, and in which the greater part of the island's political and economic life was concentrated. We know of seventy-six private documents drafted in Greek in Messina between 1114 and 1197, while the first known notarial deed to be drawn up in Latin by a regular *notarius Messane* occurs only in 1196.[128] From Palermo there are some thirty notarial deeds in Greek, drafted between 1138 and 1196. The oldest private document there in Latin, however with no indication of the scribe, is

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[123] Seville, ADM no. 1255.

[124] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 487-8.

[125] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 484-6.

[126] Spata, *Pergamene*, 451-6 no. 11 [above note 118].

[127] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 80-3, Ménager (1960), 214-20.

[128] *Actes Latins de S. Maria di Messina*, 98-106 no. 9. There is a Latin charter of 1157 from Simon the Seneschal, for the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene founded by his father John the Seneschal, but while signed by the *stratigotus*, Richard, and the city judges, it was not written by a *tabularius*, *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 17-19 no. 13.

a donation to the local church of St. Mark by a member of Palermo's Venetian community in 1172.[129] The will of a Venetian widow called Filiberta, who was living in Palermo, was composed by the priest and clerk (*tabularius*), Arnaldus, also during the reign of William II, and probably in 1173.[130] In 1186 another Venetian will, that of Theocritus Mairosin of Chioggia, was written, again in favour of the church of St. Mark.[131] One should not rule out the possibility that the *tabularius* Arnaldus only worked for the Venetian community in Palermo, since the Latin notariate for the city of Palermo only began in the Staufen period with a certain Godfrey, the *publicus tabellio Panormi*.[132] However, private documents in Greek drawn up in other places in Sicily are scarce. There are seven from Fragalà, five from Petralia, three from Taormina, three each from Troina and Fiume-freddo and two at Gesso and Agrigento.[133] A single charter survives in each instance from Castiglione di Sicilia, Catania, Centuripe, Mazara, Milazzo and Rometta.[134] Apart from at Cefalù, there are no notarial deeds in Latin from Sicily before the death of Roger II. In this context it is interesting to note—and perhaps it should be considered no mere matter of haphazard documentary transmission—that no Greek notarial deeds have survived from Syracuse, where even the Latin ones are rare and late.[135] Syracuse had been the most Hellenised city on the island and its political and cultural capital in the Byzantine period. It would seem, in fact, that in the Norman

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[129] *Documenti Inediti*, 149–50 no. 60.

[130] *Documenti Inediti*, 91–3 no. 39. This charter, preserved only in a late copy, is dated 'in the reign of our great and unconquered King William, grandson of King Roger [. . .] in the year 6673, in the month of April', but April 6673 (i.e. 1165) cannot be in the reign of William II, nor is the notary's name likely for a document purportedly originally written in Greek (which the apparent use of the year from the Creation might imply, even though the formulae are not those of a Greek charter). It seems more likely that the transcriber miscopied '1173', rather than that this is a poor translation of a Greek original.

[131] *Documenti Inediti*, 209–10 no. 86.

[132] For him *Monumenta Historica Sacra Domus Mansionis SS. Trinitatis Militaris Ordinis Theutonicorum Urbis* Panormi, ed. A. Mongitore (Palermo 1721), 16–19, Garufi (1940), 86–7 no. 10 (1197), Kamp & Girgensohn (1965), 126–8 no. 4 (1202).

[133] The doubts of Collura, *Le più Antiche Carte*, 29–33 no. 10, 41–4 no. 16, about the authenticity of these Greek charters from Agrigento are unfounded. The first surviving document written by a Latin *tabularius* from Agrigento is from 1189, *ibid.*, 85–7 no. 37.

[134] The lack of Greek private charters from Catania is surprising, given that there would seem to have been a Greek community of some size there, *Catana Sacra*, 88–9 (1168).

[135] Polica (1974), 18–19.

period, it was somewhat peripheral to the major currents of Sicilian economic life. One might however note that, despite having a consistently Latin and Arab-Muslim population, in 1172 Syracuse still had a Greek *strategos*, called Godfrey Fimetta.[136]

Furthermore, one should also remember that, compared to the public documentation, the writing of private charters began relatively late. The oldest such document is the first will of Abbot Gregory of the monastery of St. Philip at Fragalà, written in 1097/8 by Luke, Bishop of Isola Capo Rizzuto in Calabria.[137] But at Messina, if one ignores the will of Abbot Sabas of St. Saviour at Bordonaro (perhaps from 1114), the production of notarial deeds only begins in 1119, and becomes more frequent only from the 1130s.[138] At Palermo the first Greek notarial charter dates from 1138. It is of course understandable that during the years of war and conquest, the activities of scribes would have slowed down, yet the complete absence of notarial documentation for a couple of generations thereafter remains surprising, all the more so because a *taboularios*, a Greek priest called Nicholas, is attested at Palermo as early as 1080/1.[139]

As we have already pointed out, no archival documentation in either Arabic or Greek has survived from the Islamic period, but it is hard to believe that such documents did not exist. We may perhaps surmise that documents of that period were written on paper, rather than on the more durable parchment, and that paper continued to be used even in the first decades after the Norman conquest. In a recent article, Jean-Marie Martin has drawn to our attention the use of papyrus as a writing medium at Naples and Gaeta in the tenth century.[140] Indeed, Ibn Ḥawqal praised the fine quality of Sicilian papyrus in a visit there in 973, stating that,

> throughout its lands are plantations in which papyrus (*al-b.rbīr*), that is to say, the papyrus plant (*al-bardī*) predominates and from which scrolls (*al-ṭawāmīr*) are made. I am not aware of an equal to the papyrus of

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[136] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 487–8.

[137] von Falkenhausen (1983), 191–4, where the date (from the Creation) should read 6596, not 6595.

[138] Seville, ADM no. 1267; the 1114 document survives only in a Latin translation, with a very unsatisfactory (and undoubtedly mis-transcribed) dating clause, Pirri, *Sicilia Sacra*, ii. 1004–6.

[139] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 59–60 (assuming that an agreement about water rights of 1103, written by the *nomikos kai taboularios* Luke, the provenance of which is unknown, is not from Palermo, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 609–10). Nicholas: Guillou (1996), 210 no. 195.

[140] Martin (2000).

Egypt on the face of the earth except in Sicily. The majority of it is wound into rope for ships' anchors, while the lesser part is used by the Sultan from which they make the scrolls of paper (*ṭawāmīr al-qarāṭīs*), but they do not exceed their minimum requirement.[141]

His description leaves us in no doubt that Sicilian papyrus was both common and considered a precious commodity. However, the expression *bolumen chartaceum* which one meets in the Gaetan documents cited by Martin, rather than meaning a papyrus document, might well refer to paper, which from the mid-tenth century was the main writing medium used in the Arabic lands of the Mediterranean.[142] We know that some charters of the Norman counts in Sicily, originally written on paper, were re-written at some later point on parchment. One of Countess Adelaide's Greek-Arabic paper documents from 1109 has survived to this day. And as late as 1188, a Norman knight from Oppido in southern Calabria presented to a court a *chartion bambykinon*, literally a 'cotton document', containing a detailed description of his fief.[143] Hence the idea that paper may well have continued in use for private deeds in Sicilian towns even after the Norman conquest, does not seem beyond the bounds of possibility. While some diplomas were copied at a later period because of their legal and economic importance for the privileged, this was not considered necessary for private documents, given the expense involved in having them rewritten.

The organisation of urban notaries was not uniform throughout Sicily. In localities with very limited documentary output, the scribes or *taboularioi* were generally dependent on the *stratigos* or on whoever held the principal secular authority.[144] At Agrigento, in 1112, that was the *magister castellanus*.[145] At Messina too, most private charters were written by scribes who worked to the order of the *strategos*. He usually signed such documents, along with the Greek and Latin judges of the city. The Latinisation of the *strategoi* and the increasing importance of the Latin judges compared to the Greek ones did not have any immediate impact on the language of these documents,

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[141] *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 122–3; French translation in Kramers & Wiet (1964), 121.

[142] Karabacek (1887), 2–15, 39–41, 55, 66–75, Bloom (1999).

[143] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 402–3, Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 295 no. 225.

[144] E.g. at Taormina, Seville, ADM nos. 531 (1145/6), 1089 (1186/7), at Castiglione di Sicilia, ADM no. 1256 (1183), and at Petralia, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 652–8 (1173, 1176, 1178), *Documenti inediti*, 163–4 no. 66 (1176).

[145] Collura, *Le più antiche carte*, 29–33 no. 10.

which remained in Greek until the Staufen period. Nonetheless, alongside the notaries of the stratigotal court, sometimes also said to be 'of the praetor's residence' (τοῦ πραιτωρίου),[146] there were also *taboularioi* who were dependent on the local archpriest (*protopapas*) who normally signed their charters. Often these *taboularioi* (also known as *nomikoi*), generally priests of some Messinese church, wrote documents for the clergy or monasteries, but the division of their respective duties is not very clear.[147] We cannot even speak of a division between lay and ecclesiastical notaries, since even the scribes who were dependent on the *strategoiti* described themselves, as clerics did, with the epithet 'humble' (*euteles*). In Palermo, the capital of the kingdom, which was not the seat of a *strategos*, the *taboularioi* depended instead on the local archpriests, except for a brief period from 1153–73. During those two decades, the *taboularioi* were dependent on a Greek judge, although they were subsequently returned to the authority of the archpriests.[148] But wherever one looks the formulary employed by various Sicilian *taboularioi* in Greek notarial documents during the Norman period precisely mirrored the usage in Byzantine Calabria and in the Eastern Empire.

An analysis of the various protagonists in the private documents in Greek (grantors, recipients, signatories, witnesses, land-owners and their neighbours and so on), illustrates that, on many occasions, they were not likely to have been Greeks. At Petralia, for example, many authors and witnesses had Germanic and Latin names, often with Latin signatures, while at Mazara one finds Arabic names and someone apparently from North Africa (Ifrīqiya).[149] The protagonists in the notarial deeds of Messina were mainly Greek, up until around the mid-twelfth century. However, even by the first decades of the same century, as a result of the growing commercial activity of the port, the first wave of Calabrian Greek immigration had been followed by a second influx coming from the areas around Aversa, Capua and Salerno,[150] along with Pisans, Genoese,[151] and French (*de*

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[146] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 335–8, *Actes Grecs de S. Maria de Messina*, 113–117 no. 13, Seville, ADM no. 1374. In Byzantium the *praitorion* was the seat of the local administration.
   [147] Seville, ADM nos. 1384 (1135), 1332 (1183), 1326 (1183), *Actes Grecs de S. Maria de Messina*, 208–14, appendix no. II.
   [148] von Falkenhausen (1994a), 252–4.
   [149] Gregoire (1932), 101–4.
   [150] *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 17–19 no. 13, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 620–1, Seville, ADM nos. 1331 (1142), 1321 (1155), 1241 (1155), *Actes Latins de S. Maria de Messina*, 40.
   [151] Abulafia (1977), 143–4, 210–11, 279–80, Pispisa (1993), 151–5.

Limoges)[152] among others. Describing the population of Messina under William I, 'Hugo Falcandus' (paraphrasing Sallust) claimed:

> This city was composed of immigrants, pirates and brigands. It held within its walls almost every type of human being, free from no kind of wickedness, rejecting no crime, thinking that nothing which it had the power to do was forbidden.[153]

From the outset of the second Norman king's reign, Latins began to occupy more conspicuous positions in urban government. From 1155 onwards a Latin held the post of *strategos/stratigotus*.[154] At the same time, the numbers of autograph signatures of *iudices latini* increased. These men were often also described as *medicus*, prompting the thought that this might refer to those in possession of an academic title from the school of Salerno.[155] However, in spite of the notable increase in the number of Latin-speakers among its citizens, the notaries of Messina continued to write in Greek until the beginning of the Staufen period.

By contrast, those cited in local notarial deeds from Palermo often had Latin or Arabic names.[156] In fact, according to Ibn Jubayr who visited the island in the 1180s, the Muslims had their own suburbs, mosques and Quranic schools in the kingdom's capital.[157] Among the Greeks mentioned in our documents, royal court officials and their *familiares* are conspicuous. One is also struck by the number of Calabrian judges and scribes who were active in Palermo. For example, the judges Nicola, Peter and Leo came from Reggio, and there was also the *taboularios* Theodore *kalabros*, while a notary from Locri is attested at Agrigento in 1112.[158] An analysis of maps IV and V shows that the wide diffusion of Greek documentation in Norman Sicily was fundamentally the work of notaries and clerics who came from Calabria and eastern Sicily and who followed the Norman conquerors.

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[152] *Actes Grecs de S. Maria de Messina*, 65–6 no. 5, 111–12 no. 12, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 373–5, 629–30.

[153] *Falcandus*, 108 [*Tyrants*, 156].

[154] Above, note 102.

[155] *Diplomi della cattedrale di Messina*, 17–19 no. 13 (1157), Seville, ADM nos. 1321, 1241 (1155), 1392 (1157), 1273 (1158), 535 (1159), 1284 (1169), 1357 (1170), 1330 (1171), 1237 and 1358 (both 1172), all unpublished.

[156] E.g. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 31–33, 59–60, 74–7, 107–110, 120–2, 663–6.

[157] *Ibn Jubayr*, 305–6; English translation in Broadhurst, 348–9.

[158] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 33, 108, 472, 664, 666, *Documenti Inediti*, 75 no. 30, 87 no. 36, Collura, *Le più antiche carte*, 33 no. 10. Von Falkenhausen (1982), 63, 68.

When in 1113, the Count of Calabria and Sicily's court was transferred from the Val Demone to Palermo, these men also took up residence in the new capital. There they formed a tightly-knit cultural élite, charged with administrative tasks. For the next two or, in some cases, three generations they almost entirely monopolised the island's written administrative output, only to become obsolete thereafter.

After the Normans

Map VI shows documentary production in Greek in the post-Norman period. By this time, use of Greek was essentially limited to the Val Demone, to the area therefore that had remained Greek even under Muslim rule. It also continued at Palermo, where the Greek community that had formed around the archbishop's church and survived throughout the Islamic period was reinforced under the Normans thanks to the presence of Greek officials from the royal administration who created a thriving cultural environment. In the thirteenth century, Greek was no longer used in episcopal documents, and the only baronial document known is the confirmation of a previous *sigillion* to the Greek monastery of St. Philip at Fragalà, on behalf of Matthew Garresis, the lord of Naso, which was written by the royal and public notary of the region of Naso.[159] So far as administrative and judicial documents are concerned, we know of judgements by the *strategoi* of Centuripe and Naso pronounced in favour of St. Philip at Fragalà in 1223 and 1224, but only the *strategos* of Naso signed in Greek.[160] (In 1230, however, a Latin document from Centuripe was signed in Greek by the local *exousiastes* and the *taboularios* of the town).[161] We possess other judgements published by officials from the Val Demone, again for the monastery of St. Philip. Among these officers were various members of a family of Greek functionaries from Taormina (known as *tou Eupheme*, or in Latin as the 'de Fimi' family).[162] There is also a Greek-Latin judgement of Matthew of

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[159] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 456–8. On this family, originally from Piedmont, Messina (1996), 325.

[160] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 443–8.

[161] *Pergamene siciliane dell'Archivio della Corona d'Aragona (1188–1347)*, ed. L. Sciascia (Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia, Ser. I.38), 45–6 no. 5.

[162] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 449–56. However, a judgement by Constantine *tou Eupheme*, imperial chamberlain of the Valdemone and Milazzo, *ibid.*, 439–43, should be dated to 1247, not 1217.

Romania ἐπί τοῦ σεκρέτου τῶν ἐξουσιῶν καὶ τῶν κοιιστόρων μαΐστωρ (*duane de secretis et questorum magister*) in favour of the Archimandrite of Messina in 1228.[163]

This survey, which shows the almost complete disappearance of Greek and the Greeks from the rest of Sicily is supported by the research of Bresc, based on Greek signatures on Latin documents from the second half of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Apart from in the Val Demone and Palermo, one finds only very few, isolated traces of Greek in Sicilian documentation.[164] As a confirmation of this general picture we might add evidence which Bresc had not taken into consideration, such as the Greek signatures of a judge from Centuripe in a document of 1257, and those of a judge and a *stratigos* in Milazzo in 1262, as well as the presence in Palermo in 1271 of Benedict, 'public notary (*tabellio*) of this city, both for the Greeks and the Latins of this aforesaid city'.[165] To these examples might be added the Greek signatures of priests and deacons of Troina and those of the monks of the local monastery of St. Michael, all in the period from 1325–51.[166] Comparable results can be found in the early fourteenth century through examination of the papal taxation lists (the *Rationes decimarum*). The collection of 1308–10 in the diocese of Messina listed 521 contributors, including churches, monasteries and individual priests. Of these 186, that is to say, more than one third, were Greeks. In some minor localities of the Messinese hinterland, such as Fiumedinisi, Galati, Lardaria, all the ecclesiastics cited were Greek.[167] However, in the same tax list there was just one Greek priest, at Corleone, in the diocese of Monreale.[168] Only one Greek church, Saints Mary and Nicholas at Trapani, was mentioned among the seventy-seven contributors from the diocese of Mazara.[169] Nine of the 168 contributors from the diocese of Agrigento were Greek,[170] eleven of the 239 from the diocese of Syracuse,[171]

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[163] Seville, ADM no. 1385.

[164] Bresc (1986), ii.587–91.

[165] *Pergamene siciliane dell'Archivio della Corona d'Aragona*, 55 no. 12, Garufi (1904), 48–9, *Monumenta ordinis Theutonicorum* [above note 132], 40–2.

[166] Biondi (1991), nos. 3, 6, 9, 12, 14–18, 21, 27 and 38.

[167] *Rationes Decimarum Italiae nel secoli XIII e XIV. Sicilia*, ed. P. Sella (Studi e Testi 112), Vatican City 1944, 46–68.

[168] *Ibid.*, 4–5 no. 13.

[169] *Ibid.*, 116–20 no. 1540.

[170] *Ibid.*, 104–11 nos. 1339, 1359, 1362, 1376, 1415, 1445, 1472, 1475, 1485.

[171] *Ibid.*, 85–100 nos. 1133, 1153, 1163, 1242, 1255, 1280–3, 1309, 1317.

three of the 137 from the diocese of Catania,[172] twelve of the 69 from the diocese of Cefalù,[173] one of the 35 from the diocese of Lípari and Patti, and six of the 116 from the diocese of Palermo.[174] This list is undoubtedly incomplete, for Greek churches and monasteries were not always mentioned as such in the *Rationes decimarum*. Examples include the monastery of St. Mary *de Scala* at Paternò, which was Latinised only in 1360, and the church of St. Mary of the Admiral at Palermo; whose rector, Jordan, a priest from Bruzzano (a Calabrian, judging by the toponym), signed several documents in Greek between 1309 and 1323.[175] Nevertheless, the trend towards the continued decline of the Greek language in Sicily is quite apparent.

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[172] *Ibid.*, 72–80 nos. 959, 962, 997.
[173] *Ibid.*, 30–2 nos. 236, 241, 246–7, 249, 266, 271–2, 285, 288–90, 293.
[174] *Ibid.*, 15–21, 37–8 nos. 118, 136, 150, 172, 175, 184, 201, 320.
[175] *Ibid.*, 76, 19, nos. 986 and 172; *Tabularium* [. . .] *capellae collegiatae divi Petri* [above, p. 140 note 94], pp. 97, 111, 129 nos. 62, 67, 75.

Map VI. Greek Documents from the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century

Legend:
- ● Notarial Documents
- ■ Baronial Documents
- ▲ Administrative and Judicial Documents

Labels on map: Messina, S. Lucia, Rometta, S. Marco, Naso, Palermo, Mirto, Fiumedinisi, Fragalà, Ucria, Agrò, Randazzo, Castiglione di Sicilia, Centuripe, Milo, Paternò

Private Documents

Messina: 18 from 1201 to 1244
Palermo: 9 from 1201 to 1259
Centuripe: 2 from 1202 to 1229
Paternò: 2 from 1220 to 1221
Rometta: 2 from 1264 to 1304
Fiumedinisi: 2 from 1306 to 1338
Agrò: 1 (1201)
Castiglione di Sicilia: 1 (1218)
Fragalà: 1 (1269)
Mili: 1 (1223/4)
Mirto: 1 (1279)
Randazzo: 1 (1355)
San Marco: 1 (1280)
Ucria: 1 (1329)

Baronial Documents

Naso (1257)

Administrative and Judicial Documents

Centuripe (1223)
Naso (1223)
San Marco (1225)
Messina (1228)
S. Lucia (1245, 1247)

Map V. Greek Documents from Norman Sicily

Legend:
★ Private Documents
■ Baronial Documents
▲ Administrative and Judicial Documents
† Episcopal Documents

Map labels: Lipari, Gesso, Milazzo, Messina, S. Marco, Naso, S. Lucia, Rometta, Phokairon, Fragalà, Palermo, Misilmeri, Gratteri, Cerami, Mistretta, Galati, Sciara, Caccamo, Caltavuturo, Troina, Maniace, Taormina, Corleone, Capizzi, Castiglione di Sicilia, Fiumefreddo, Petralia, Gagliano, Agira, Regalbuto, Mazara d. Vallo, Cammarata, Centuripe, Paternò, Agrigento, Piazza Armerina, Catania, Naro, Mineo, Licata, Vizzini, Syracuse

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Private Documents

Messina: 76 from 1114 to 1197
Palermo: 30 from 1138 to 1196
Fragalà 7 from 1097/8 to 1189 (two of which are undated)
Petralia: 5 from 1173 to 1185
Taormina: 3 from 1145/6 to 1186/7
Troina: 3 from 1138/9 to 1185/6
Fiumefreddo: 3 from 1159/60 to 1191/2
Agrigento: 2 from 1112 to 1154/5
Gesso: 2 from 1138/9 to 1165
Catania: 1 (1146)
Centuripe: 1 (1166/7)
Mazara: 1 (1129)
Milazzo: 1 (1136)
Rometta: 1 (1136/7)
Provenance uncertain: 1(1103)

Baronial Documents

Caccamo (1096)
S. Lucia (1082/3 or 1084/5, 1083/4 or 1085/6, 1100/1)
Syracuse (1101, 1102, 1116)
Vizzini (1105)
Galati (1116)
Mistretta (1121/2, 1142)
Naro e Licata (1141)
Petralia (1142)
Piazza Armerina (1142)
Paternò (1143)
Misilmeri (1143)

Mazara (1143)
Mineo (1143)
Cammarata (1143, 1146)
Gratteri (1148)
Cerami (1151/2 or better 1156/7)
Caltavuturo (1156)
Naso (1182)

Administrative and Judicial Documents

Rometta (1095)
Phokairon (under Roger I)
San Marco (1121, 1182)
Maniace (1126)
Agira-Regalbuto (1142)
Gagliano (1142 and 1149, 1154)
Catania vs archimandritato (1143)
Messina (1145/6, 1152, 1159, 1171, 1172, 1176, 1185 Latin and Greek, 1191/2, 1192/3, 1195)
Palermo (1161 Greek-Arab, 1166 Arab-Greek, 1177/8, 1180 Latin-Greek)
Capizzi (1168)
Castiglione di Sicilia (1171)
Syracuse (1172 Latin-Greek)
Misilmeri (1172 Greek-Arab)
Sciara ? (1175 Greek-Arab)
Centuripe (1183)

Episcopal Documents

Catania (1103)
Messina (1117 Greek-Latin), 1135/6, 1177, 1197)

Map IV. Greek Diplomas of the Norman Counts and Kings for Sicilian Recipients

20 Lipari

11 14 17 19 29
31 37 47 49 57
Messina
35

Patti
6 33 40
43 46 58
Palermo
S. Marco 44 2 39 26 36 54
59
Monreale
4 25 28 27 22
Cefalù
50 5 18 8
38 30 32
55 Gratteri 9
10 Taormina

Marsala
23 42
Corleone
48 52
Vicari 15 41
Castronuovo 21
56
Troina 1 7 12
53
Agira
34
Mazara d. Vallo
Castrogiovanni 24
16 51
Sciacca
13
Catania
Agrigento
45
Syracuse

1. Church of Troina (1080, 1085[?], 1106-1112)
2. St. Angelo, Brolo (1083/4, 1144/5)
3. St. Mary, Mili (1087, 1091)
4. St. Philip, Fragalà (1090 Greek-Latin, 1091, 1092, 1094, 1097, 1099, 1101/2, 1101/2, 1101-1105, 1109, 1110, 1112, 1101-1112, 1135/6, 1145, 1168 Latin-Greek, 1171 Latin-Greek, 1175 Latin-Greek, 1187, 1192 Latin-Greek)
5. St. Nicholas de Ficu (1091, 1145)
6. Church of Palermo (1092, 1095 Greek-Arab, 1143/4 Greek-Arab, 1144, 1144, 1145, 1169 Arab-Greek)
7. St. Michael, Troina (1092, 1168)
8. Sts. Peter and Paul, Itala (1092)
9. Holy Saviour, Placa (1092)
10. St. Nicandrus, San Nicone (1093)
11. St. John of the Greeks, Messina (1093/4)
12. St Elias de Ambola (1093/4, 1144)
13. Church of Catania (1095 Greek-Arab, 1125, 1145 Arab-Greek, 1145 Arab-Greek)
14. Church of Messina (1096, 1143 Latin-Greek)
15. St. Mary, Vicari (1097)
16. St. George, Triocala (1097/8)
17. Scolarius the chaplain (1098)
18. St. Mary, Mandanaci (1099/1100, 1145)
19. St. Philip the Great, Messina (1099/1100, 1145)
20. St. Bartholomew, Lipari (1100 [or 1085?], 1110/1)
21. St. Peter, Castronuovo (1101)
22. St. Mary, Gala (1104/5, 1142 Greek-Arab, 1144)
23. St. Mary, Marsala (1107/8, 1142, 1145)
24. Caid-s of Castrogiovanni (1109 Greek-Arab)
25. St. Barbarus, Demenna (1109)
26. St. Elias in Scala Olivieri (1110)
27. Julian miles (1111 Arab-Greek)
28. Gervase Alcherius of Ficarra (1111)
29. St Mary of the Latins, Messina (1105-1112, 1157)

30. St. Nicholas, Pellera (1105-1112, 1168)
31. Ogerus, Genoese consul at Messina (1116)
32. Sts. Peter and Paul, Agrò (1116)
33. Moriella of Partanna (1123)
34. St. Michael, Mazara (1124, 1126, 1145 Greek-Arab)
35. Walter gavarectus (1125)
36. Ansaldo di Arri (1127)
37. Holy Saviour, Messina (1131, 1133, 1134, 1134, 1137, 1141 Greek-Arab, 1142, 1143, 1144, 1144, 1144, 1144, 1147, 1147, 1147, 1149, 1151)
38. Cefalù cathedral (1132, 1132 Greek-Arab, 1145 Arab-Greek)
39. Church of Patti (1132, 1133 Greek-Arab, 1134 Greek-Arab, 1134, 1142, 1143)
40. St. Mary, Campogrosso (1134)
41. Adelina, wet-nurse of Henry, son of Roger II (1136, 1145 Arab-Greek)
42. John Graffeus (1139)
43. St. Mary, της Χρυσης (1140)
44. The inhabitants of S. Marco and of Naso (1142)
45. Church of Syracuse (1143 Greek-Latin)
46. The Venetians of Palermo (1144)
47. Nicholas Patrikios of Messina (1144)
48. Walter Forestal (1145 Arab-Greek)
49. Nicholas the logothete and his brother Simon (1145)
50. St Mary de Stellis, Militello (1145)
51. Gervase Ruffus (1146)
52. St Mary Magdalene, Corleone 1151 Greek-Arab)
53. St. Mary of the Latins, Jerusalem 1151)
54. The Lombards of St. Lucia (1130-1154)
55. St. George, Gratteri 1155)
56. St Mary al-Gadir (1164 Greek-Arab)
57. Ulo Graffea (1166-1171 Latin-Greek)
58. The chancellor Matthew (1173 Arab-Greek)
59. Monreale (1178 Arab-Greek, 1183 Arab-Greek)

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THE MUSLIMS OF SICILY UNDER CHRISTIAN RULE

Alex Metcalfe

Who were the Sicilian Muslims?

The Norman invasion of Sicily was neither an invasion, nor was the kingdom that eventually resulted from it particularly 'Norman' in character. At the height of its power in the mid-twelfth century, the kingdom of Sicily included most of the southern Italian peninsula as well as possessions on the North African coast. However, it was the island of Sicily that was undoubtedly the gravitational centre of the kingdom's cultural and political life, and its capital, Palermo, was probably Europe's wealthiest and most populous city. The island was also home to most of the kingdom's large, Arabic-speaking Muslim communities. Indeed, these formed the majority of the island's population for most of the kingdom's short, but spectacular, existence.

In 1061, almost seventy years before the kingdom was proclaimed, a modest military force under the leadership of Robert Guiscard and Roger de Hauteville, but in the pay of a Sicilian *amīr*, Ibn al-Thumna, arrived to assist in a civil war which had already lasted a generation and had seen the political and administrative disintegration of the island into petty principalities. The advent of these two leaders and those who were to follow them would introduce fundamental and irreversible changes to the demographic, religious and linguistic base of the island over the next 250 years.

In the Islamic period, the view that Muslims who hailed mainly from Ifrīqiya (roughly the area covered by modern Tunisia) had repopulated the island is matched by an assimilation theory that 'most of its population became Muslim'.[1] In the ninth and tenth centuries, many towns of strategic importance were indeed re-populated after their capture and appear to have assumed an Arab-Islamic

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[1] Yāqūt, *BAS (Arabic)*, 124; translation in Amari, *BAS*, 51. According to Johns (1995), 152, there was 'a scale of acculturation ranging from Greek Christians and Arab Muslims at the two extremes, but with most of the population of the island falling somewhere in the middle'. For general accounts of the Sicilian Muslims in the Norman period, see Amari (1939), Ahmad (1975), Johns (1983), Abulafia (1990) and Maurici (1999).

character around the entire island. However, change in rural areas seems to have been of a much slower, assimilative type. Even in these more conservative and less carefully monitored environments, most Christian enclaves of Greek or Italo-Greek speakers that had remained are likely to have converted to Islam and/or adopted Arabic as a second language within the space of a few generations. This was the probable scenario in the south-western Val di Mazara, where Arab-Islamic influence had first been established and for most of the Val di Noto in the south-east too. However, it is fair to assume that across and around the many, ragged religious and socio-linguistic frontiers that this created, different communities experienced different degrees of acculturation at varying rates. For example, in 973, Ibn Ḥawqal, a hostile visitor to Sicily, described how large numbers in rural areas were imperfectly embracing Arab-Islamic norms. In such communities he claimed, 'marriage to Christians is [allowed] provided that their male child follows the father by being a bastardised Muslim (*musha'midh*), and that a female becomes a Christian like her mother'.[2] He also added that they spoke unintelligibly, like 'deaf mutes'. Although the idea that there may have existed degrees of Christianity in Sicily makes an intriguing, if not entirely unattractive, thesis, it also seems from Ibn Ḥawqal's description of Palermo that it had barely a remaining trace of Christian culture.

Some evidence suggests remote attempts to strengthen Muslim centres and practices after the fall of Rometta in 965, the last site of Christian resistance. The Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz is reported to have ordered the building of mosques, strengthening of fortifications and the urbanisation of the rural population.[3] However, dispersed settlement patterns from the Norman period, the lack of archaeological evidence for such construction or support from other documentary sources suggests there may have been some distance between the aim of the order and its implementation.

Nonetheless, it is likely that, by the mid-eleventh century, Sicily was mainly Muslim and almost everyone understood Arabic, particularly in the western Val di Mazara and southern Val di Noto. Only in parts of the north-eastern Val Demone, where Greek and Latinate dialects and culture were more concentrated, did Christian commu-

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[2] *Ibn Ḥawqal*, 129; translation in Kramers & Wiet (1964), 128. Omitted in both versions of Amari's *BAS*.

[3] Al-Nuwayrī, *BAS (Arabic)*, 494–5; translation in Amari, *BAS*, 179.

nities conspicuously persist. It is these assumptions that underpin and inform the ways in which key social indicators such as conversion to Christianity, integration and the language question came to change and might be interpreted in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. Over-all, there can be no doubt that the twin processes of re-population and assimilation that occurred in the two centuries of Islamic rule would come to be reversed, but few could have anticipated the vicis-situdes of the better-documented period between 1061 and 1282.

Changes to the demographic base of the island

From the time of the circumspect and disjointed Norman-led offensives, the demographic base of the island underwent a series of radical changes that would disrupt and dilute the wider Muslim commu-nity. According to Ibn al-Athīr, many of the Muslim religious and intellectual elite abandoned the island and, indeed, many were later attested in Spain, Egypt and North Africa.[4] The same author described how this exodus may have been partially reversed during the North African crop failures of the 1140s when 'many of the wealthier fam-ilies went to Sicily in search of food, but met great hardship there'.[5] Sometimes villeins, or even the population of entire areas, were trans-planted from one region to another. Malaterra recorded how Robert Guiscard and Roger I, in 1064 and 1088 respectively, transported the inhabitants of Bugamo and Butera to Calabria.[6] Twice during Roger II's reign, the population of Djerba, an island off modern Tunisia, was deported to Sicily.

During the early twelfth century Christian immigrants, many of whom had come from the north of the peninsula, poured into the north-eastern area of the island, the Val Demone, which was clos-est to the Italian mainland. Of particular note were the 'Lombard' communities whose influence would come to dominate the towns of Novara, S. Fratello, Nicosia, Sperlinga, Aidone and Piazza Armerina, thus forming something of a barrier across the island.[7] Attempts to

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[4] Ibn al-Athīr, *BAS (Arabic)*, 319; translation in Amari, *BAS*, 114.

[5] Ibn al-Athīr, *BAS (Arabic)*, 332; translation in Amari, *BAS*, 119. A royal Sicilian register from 1141 hints that, on arrival, they may have been assigned the status of landless villeins, Seville, ADM, no. 1119.

[6] *Malaterra*, II.36, p. 47, and IV.12, p. 92.

[7] Bresc (1985), 256.

manage displaced communities were hampered by a sustained, but poorly documented, baronial revolt after the death of Roger I.[8] Indeed, given the Muslim depopulation and Christian re-population of the Val Demone, and the increasingly overt animosity between the 'Lombard' and Muslim communities, it is likely that the majority of Muslims were living well to the west of this belt by the second half of the twelfth century. For the year 1161, 'Falcandus' noted that, 'to the present day they [the Muslims] hate the North Italian race so much that they have refused to live in that part of Sicily again, but even avoid going there at all'.[9] The dramatic effects of demographic change are illustrated by the example of the north-eastern port of Messina. When the town was besieged by Roger in 1061, it is quite evident that there was a significant Muslim population.[10] But Ibn Jubayr's eye-witness description of it in 1184 tells of a city in which 'no Muslims have settled' and that was 'crammed with worshippers of crosses [i.e. Christians]'.[11] In contrast to Messina in the north-east, were the towns of the south-west such as Africa-facing Agrigento in which few Christians had settled until at least 1189.[12]

In spite of their changing environment, Muslims continued to play an important role in the socio-economic life of the island as merchants, craftsmen and farmers. Most of the Muslim population had settled in the west of the island where wheat had been grown since classical times. Economically, wheat was the important crop in the entire kingdom and its export to North Africa in return for gold was vital to both parties and explains much of Sicily's expansionist policies and actions towards the North African cities. However, the wider picture was one of transition as Sicily's longer distance trade slowly withered and the lucrative new commercial routes between Europe and the southern Mediterranean fell increasingly into the hands of Genoese, Pisan and Venetian merchants who had been quick to establish commercial bases in both Palermo and Messina.[13] In general, the main demographic divisions that had existed during the

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[8] During the troubles, the settlement of Focerò was destroyed three times. The revolt is also mentioned in a dispute over rights in 1123, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 471–2.

[9] *Falcandus*, 70; translation in *Tyrants*, 122.

[10] *Malaterra*, II.4–11, pp. 87–92.

[11] *Ibn Jubayr*, 296; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 338.

[12] *Le Più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092–1282)*, ed. P. Collura (Palermo 1960), 307.

[13] Abulafia (1977), especially 90–8, 182–3, 263–4, and Abulafia (1986).

Islamic period continued but saw an increasing degree of polarisa-
tion between settlement of the east and west of the island. So while
the grain-growing, south-western Val di Mazara remained the zone
of most dense Muslim settlement, Latin immigrants entered through
the Val Demone and the main Italian-facing ports from which they
spread west. Although a good deal of variation and contrast remained
at local level, the overall effects of migration and re-population were
highly significant factors in shaping the island's social composition
between 1060 and 1250.

Alliances and early relations with the Muslims

Even before the invasion, Islamic Sicily had been politically frag-
mented and twenty-five years of civil strife had failed to result in
the ascendancy of any one particular party. The Christian knights,
in spite of being numerically disadvantaged, held the balance of
power through their military capability and their willingness to make
ad hoc alliances with complicit Muslim factions on the island. Thus,
the early use of Muslim soldiers and the inclusion of members of
the Muslim elite in the political decision-making process generally
can be seen as a practical response to the problem of attaining and
maintaining control. Not surprisingly, there was a great deal of
ambivalence and uncertainty over the relationship between the
Christian leaders and their subject peoples from the outset. Alliances
with leading Sicilian Muslims, such as that with the *amīr* Ibn al-
Thumna, strongly suggest that the early invaders could not have had
an overtly religious agenda when they first entered the island in spite
of claims to the contrary by early Latin historical writers. In such
authors an accurate portrayal of events was tinted with invective
directed against the soft target of an infidel and alien enemy. Thus,
for William of Apulia, Palermo of the late eleventh century was 'a
city hostile to God' and 'enslaved by demons'.[14] Malaterra described
how Count Roger ordered churches to be built throughout Sicily,
while Pope Gregory VII had encouraged Roger by letter 'to for-
ward the cult of the Christian name among the pagans'.[15]

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[14] *W. Apulia*, book III lines 286–7, p. 178. These sentiments were attributed to
Robert Guiscard in a rhetorical speech.
[15] *Malaterra*, IV.7, p. 89. Gregory VII, *Registrum*, III.11, p. 272, a letter sent to
Archbishop Arnold of Acerenza for onward transmission to Count Roger.

The fact that Sicily was largely Muslim may have provided all the more excuse for an invasion, but it makes an unconvincing reason for action *per se* given the zeal with which Robert and Roger had already annexed Christian territories on the southern Italian mainland. Nonetheless, some notable Muslims did convert to Christianity, but even with explicit accounts, it is difficult to know the extent to which such conduct spearheaded wider social change. Equally unknown is whether leading Muslims converted because they were required to, or whether they were also happy to benefit from the material gains that conversion offered. These could be considerable. A donation in Greek records how 'Roger, who was once called Aḥmad in the religion of the Hagarenes [Muslims] 'gave three estates to the archbishop-elect of the church of Palermo. These had been conceded to Roger/Aḥmad by his godfather, Count Roger II.[16] If the connection between conversion and material reward is not absolutely explicit here, there were other cases in which it was. At the capture of Castrogiovanni (modern Enna) in 1087, Malaterra relates how a certain 'Chamut' converted and moved to Calabria where he received lands.[17] Even if the attested conversion of some Muslim community leaders was unusual, their acceptance of material rewards set an important precedent and showed the potential for wider conversion without the direct involvement of the church, nor with any great effort on behalf of the ruling elite. Yet there remains no evidence to support a policy of widespread conversion in the early conquest period. To the contrary, Malaterra noted that Muslims were to keep not only their faith, but also their culture after the capture of Palermo in 1072, although the principal mosque was converted to become the new cathedral.[18] In exceptional cases, conversion seems to have been actively discouraged. Muslim troops were used count from as early as the capture of Salerno in 1076.[19] According to Eadmer's 'Life of Saint Anselm', many Muslim soldiers serving under Count Roger would have converted had they not dreaded

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[16] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 16.

[17] *Malaterra*, IV.6, p. 88. 'Chamut' is derived from the common Arabic name Ḥammūd. However, the suggestion that he was from the Hammudid tribe and may be related to others bearing this same common name, such as Abū l-Qāsim bin Ḥammūd, is pure speculation. For the perpetuation of this idea, see Bresc (1974), 267–304, Rizzitano (1977), 205–7 and Amara & Nef (2001), 121–7.

[18] *Malaterra*, II.45, p. 53 and *Amatus*, VI.19, pp. 281–2.

[19] *Amatus*, VIII.14, p. 354.

Roger's harshness towards them in reprisal.[20] Certainly, Muslim sol-
diers provided an uncompromising force against insurgent Christian
towns on the mainland, above all in the 1120s and 30s, and Muslim
contingents were used in the army into the thirteenth century.

Life under indirect rule: the fiscal, legal and religious status of Muslims

By the mid-1090s, the Sicilian Muslims had succumbed to life under
'infidel' Christian rule relatively peaceably. Large numbers had fought
alongside the Christians and had facilitated the conquest of their
own island while the peasants who made up the majority of the pop-
ulation now found themselves with the defined rights and responsi-
bilities of villeins allotted to landlords. Terms of service for Muslim
villeins were not necessarily worse than for the other communities,
although some landlords were keener to attract Latin settlers than
others.[21] A proliferation of 'feudal' terms, many synonymous, were
used across the island's three administrative languages to describe
classes of villeins. References are scattered among only a few regis-
ters and suggest that a broad distinction was made between services
villeins owed on their persons and on conditions of their tenure,
although classifications were subject to change, finer sub-divisions
and degrees of local variation.[22] It was in the interests of both land-
lords and, later, also of the royal fiscal administration to limit the
movements of the existing villein population, attempt to retrieve fugi-
tives and register newly-weds while attracting newcomers onto the
land and therefore into taxable categories.

The legal status of Sicilian Muslims is slightly less obscure than
their fiscal status, with evidence pointing to the use of Islamic *sharī'a*
law to decide matters of custom or civil dispute that arose within
Muslim communities.[23] Even in cases between Muslims and non-
Muslims, swearing on the Quran and the use of Islamic law was

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[20] *The Life of Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer*, ed. & trans. R.W.
Southern (London 1962), ii, 23, pp. 110–12.
[21] The constitution of Patti decreed that only 'men of the Latin tongue, who-
ever they might be' could settle in the town itself. *Roger II Diplomata*, pp. 64–6,
no. 23. To landlords generally, Muslims on their land were valued as taxable com-
modities because they paid the *jizya*. See below.
[22] See Johns, *The Royal Diwan* (forthcoming).
[23] In 1168, Latins, Greeks, Jews and Muslims were said to be judged '*unusquisque
iuxta suam legem*', *Catana Sacra*, 89.

still respected.[24] As in orthodox Sunnī Ifrīqiya, Sicilian Muslim jurists predominantly adhered to the Mālikī school of Islamic law. Indeed, the earliest Muslim force to invade Sicily had been under the command of the leading Mālikī authority, Asad bin al-Furāt. A number of eminent Mālikī jurists of Sicilian origin are also later attested, including the *imām* al-Māzarī (d. 1141) whose influential religious opinions argued that judgements pronounced by Muslim magistrates appointed by 'infidels' in Christian Sicily had legal force and should be obeyed conditionally.[25] This was consistent with the typically Mālikī view that even bad government was better than no government, in contrast to the more militant philosophy of the Almoravids and Almohads that was spreading across North Africa. Thus, Muslim *qāḍī-s* (magistrates), attested in Sicily throughout the twelfth century, retained both social status and legal authority within their own religious communities.[26] In return for security for their property and legal protection for themselves (*dhimma*), the tax required from Muslims and Jews was slightly higher than Christians, as non-Christian communities probably paid the *jizya*, a type of religious poll tax based on an Islamic precedent.[27] Hence, an important connection can be made between Sicilian fiscal structures and the Muslims' legal standing that defined their place within a society otherwise divided along religious lines.

The emerging picture is of an Islamic community that continued to function relatively normally, sheltering under a type of indirect rule, its judicial and religious status theoretically guaranteed in return for a higher tax burden and a reversal of its former prestigious social position. For many of Sicily's Muslims, daily life under Christian rule thus continued without substantial change, above all in the Val di Mazara where their numbers were far greater and 'Latin' settlement was limited. Even in the mid-1180s the Spanish Arab pilgrim

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[24] References to the use of Islamic law occur in two Palermitan house sale agreements drafted in Arabic from 1190 and 1196, Cusa, *Diplomi*, pp. 44–6 & 499–501. In the latter case, the deal was struck between Muslim and Christian parties. Around 1177, the three Muslims villeins took a pledge on the Quran in the presence of their landlord, Donatus, abbot of Saint John of the Hermits in Palermo, that they would 'neither disdain nor desert their lord, nor would they ever dissent from the church's obedience', Cusa, *Diplomi*, 111–2.

[25] Brett (1995), especially 330–3.

[26] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 471 (1123), 69 (1143), 475 (1145) and 273 (1183).

[27] 'Fight those who do not believe [. . .] until they pay the *jizya*', Quran ix, 29. Generally, see Cahen (1965), 227–31, 559–62, and specifically Johns, *The Royal Diwan* (forthcoming).

Ibn Jubayr marvelled at the local Christians' tolerance of a noisy religious procession in Trapani.[28]

Whether such conspicuous behaviour or the full range of religious practices could have been pursued much outside the Val di Mazara is rather more debatable. Even within it, many estates among the network of Muslim settlements were so tiny that they could not have supported much of a socio-religious infrastructure. Although Ibn Jubayr noted the sound of the *muezzin* giving the call to prayer a short distance from Palermo, he also mentioned that it had been a long time since he had heard it.[29] He had, however, already passed through three large urban centres, namely Messina, Cefalù and Termini, in the previous week. On reaching Palermo in the middle of Ramadan, we learn that the Muslims there had preserved only a 'trace' of their faith, about which he proceeds to inform his anxious Muslim readers. He reports that they maintained their mosques and again noticed the prayer call which was also answered by the prayers of the faithful, but failed to mention that any of them were observing the fast during the holy month—one of the five defining 'pillars' of Islam. He also noted the existence of countless small mosques and a single congregational mosque (*jāmiʿ*) in which the Friday sermon had been banned, presumably to avoid the propagation of any politico-religious polemic that might have been given. This appears to have undermined the point of the main weekly prayers to the extent that consequently they were not even held there.[30]

But in whatever ways religious practice may or may not have been restricted or carried out locally, there can be no doubt that the creation of fiscal and legal divisions according to religion and the degree of autonomy that indirect rule thus afforded, contributed to the preservation of a Muslim consciousness, identity and sense of community throughout the Norman period.

The influence of Arab-Islamic traditions and Muslim administrators

Religious conversion of the Muslim elite may have been the Sicilian kings' preferred option, but it was certainly not a pre-requisite for political power. This is shown most obviously by the figure of Abū

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[28] *Ibn Jubayr*, 310; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 353.
[29] *Ibn Jubayr*, 303; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 346.
[30] *Ibn Jubayr*, 305; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 348.

l-Qāsim, the Muslim leader who played a vital role in the island's administration, commerce and politics under William I and II. In the much earlier and skeletal pre-*regnum* administration, c. 1108–c. 1129, at least some of the key figures were Muslims and included the poet and administrator Abū l-Ḍaw' who had well-placed connections with the Ifrīqiyan Zirids.[31] This important but little-known figure later wrote an elegy on the death of Roger II's eldest son in 1148 and his family associations in Sicily suggest that they remained close to sources of power until at least the 1160s.[32]

Other distinguished personnel in this period included the *amīr* Christodoulos and *amīr* of *amīrs*, George of Antioch. The former was frequently mentioned in Greek and Latin documents until 1125 and can be identified with 'Abd al-Rahmān 'the Christian' mentioned in Arabic sources.[33] On the other hand, the trilingual and highly experienced George had worked for the Byzantine emperor and then for the Zirid dynasty in Ifrīqiya as a senior financial advisor before arriving in Sicily. His biography, given by the historian al-Maqrīzī, leaves us in no doubt that he was central to the establishment of the Sicilian kingdom, the reformation of the fiscal administration and the presentation of Roger II as a ruler in the Islamic style.[34] Although very little is known of this early formative period, it is clear that a mix of Christians and Muslims were instrumental in the embryonic administration of the pre-*regnum* period as they continued to be in the second half of the twelfth century too. However, as we shall see, influences both from within and outside Sicily would soon tip the delicate political balance established under George of Antioch after his death in 1151 and after that of King Roger II in 1154.

Arab-Muslim cultural life around the royal palaces

Prior to the building of the first palaces around 1130, it is difficult to speak of a 'capital', nor of any central or well-organised administration, nor of the existence of a 'court'. Even after the creation of the kingdom and construction of the royal palaces, it would be

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[31] For the poetry of Abū l-Daw' and his correspondence with Abū l-Ṣalt at the Zirid court, see De Simone (1999), 3–15.

[32] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 61–6, 101–6, and 471–2.

[33] Ménager (1960), 28–30.

[34] *Al-Maqrīzī*, III.18–20.

easy to overstate the extent and permanency of any 'court culture' or a 'court entourage'. Nor, for that matter, is there any evidence that the specific institution of a *harem* was included within the palaces, although this is sometimes mentioned in the same breath as 'pleasure palaces' and 'palace eunuchs' which, taken together, may conjure up exotic, but misplaced, images of Orientalist *odalisques* from Ottoman Turkey. We shall, however, consider the fundamental importance of the 'palace eunuchs' to the management and stability of the kingdom later. Confusion can also be created by the liberal use of misnomers such as 'Arabs' when actually referring to Muslims, ex-Muslims or Arabic-speakers of Christian, Jewish or Muslim backgrounds and similar caveats accompany discussions of 'Greeks' or 'Greek culture' both outside and within the palaces. The latter, for instance, ranged enormously from the translation of ancient Greek texts, to the influence of senior officials who knew Greek, to the importance of Greek as an administrative language as well as to the appropriation of Byzantine decorative styles and sporadic royal patronage of the Eastern Church. Certainly, links between Palermo and Byzantine and Islamic regions were far less remote than those between the so-called 'Norman kings' and Normandy, and indeed the Sicilian kings drew little inspiration from the chill poverty of northern Europe, but rather focussed eastwards to Cairo and Constantinople and south towards Ifrīqiya. Even so, many modern authors still prefer to follow the northern Latin sources in referring to the Sicilian kings as 'the Normans'. Indeed, phrases such as 'the Norman conquest' or 'the Norman kingdom' beg uneven comparisons with contemporary England and northern France and run the risk of transmitting a rash of preconceived ideas about the character, dynamics and development of authority on the island.

Much too has been made of cross-cultural academic activities that took place around the palaces during the Norman period. Some administrators of the second half of the twelfth century, such as Maio, Aristippus and Eugenius, were indeed closely involved in the transmission of ancient philosophical, scientific and literary texts, especially Greek, but also Arabic, into Latin. The royal patronage of Muslim and Byzantine scholars, at its brief height under Roger II, is often seen as a part of the same high-brow cultural package. However, commissioned original works that have come to be considered important, such as the geographer al-Idrīsī's 'Book of Roger' and Nilus Doxapatris' political thesis, 'The History of the Five

Patriarchs', were exceptional. Neither author was native to the island, nor were these works ever translated into Latin, perhaps because they were thought to contain only contemporary opinions about lower prestige material. Otherwise, original literary output that has come to be associated with the Palermo 'court circle' tends to be the product of a varied social elite who wrote for pleasure or were merely passing through the kingdom at the time and were not always in need of patronage.

In other respects, native Sicilian Muslim intellectual activity never recovered from its sudden collapse caused directly by the emigration of their social elite at the start of the Norman period. So while the Sicilian grammarian Ibn al-Qaṭṭāʿ could give details of 170 Sicilian authors writing in Arabic from the Islamic period, only a handful are known from the twelfth century. He had prudently left the island for safer employment in Egypt where he became tutor to Ibn Barrī and the sons of the Fatimid *wazīr* al-Afḍal bin Badr al-Jamālī.[35]

The Muslims and the Sicilian kings

After the unification of the kingdom and its formal establishment in 1130 with the coronation of Roger II, there followed almost two decades of piecemeal administrative reform and conscious modelling of the kingship. The ruling apparatus of the Sicilian kings was characterised by administrative and artistic elements poached from sources with origins that lay outside the kingdom. For example, many of the structures and practices of the fiscal administration are comparable to, and post-date, those used in Fatimid Egypt. Specifically, the format, calligraphic *dīwānī* script, royal titles and the *ʿalāma* or 'insignia/signatures' that appeared on all post-1133 royal Arabic diplomata appear to be based on contemporary Egyptian models.[36] More importantly, the administrative office known as the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq al-Maʿmūr*, which was founded by 1149 and responsible for the compiling, issuing, inspecting and up-dating of fiscal registers of lands and men in Sicily and Calabria, appears to have been based on the Fatimid *Dīwān al-*

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[35] The former was a grammar specialist who worked in the Fatimid *Dīwān al-Inshāʾ* and is thought to have died in Cairo in 1121. The latter, who effectively controlled Egypt, was instrumental in the establishment of the *Dīwān al-Taḥqīq* in 1107–8.

[36] Johns (1993), 133–59.

Taḥqīq, itself founded in 1107.[37] The other main financial office was that of the *Dīwān al-Maʿmūr*, which was operational by 1145 and responsible for the general management of the royal demesne in Sicily and Calabria, including the collection of revenues from crown property. These two financial offices, in which Arabic was the basic working language, drove much of the kingdom's economy and Muslim or ex-Muslim staff were instrumental in the running of both. In addition, there is reason to believe that the adoption of certain royal regalia and much of the kings' highly developed ceremonial protocol also had southern Mediterranean origins as opposed to being a re-discovered inheritance from the Muslim Kalbid dynasty of Sicily, which had disintegrated during the first half of the eleventh century.

There is no doubt that the Sicilian kings were at pains to give the impression of legitimate authority in every direction both within and outside the kingdom and spared no expense on the trappings of power required to do so. Yet the relevance of Arab-Islamic influence in the royal household and administration remains highly debatable. For example, it is not clear whether the conspicuous borrowings from three cultural traditions and use of three administrative languages (Latin, Greek and Arabic) formed part of an elaborate royal motif designed to emphasise Sicily's tri-partite nature. A classical allusion to the 'three-tongued Sicilians' by the poet Peter of Eboli and his references to Sicily by its ancient name of *Trinacria*, or 'three-cornered', a usage which also occurs in the 'Letter to Peter' attributed to 'Hugo Falcandus' and in the letters of Peter of Blois, show how such ideas were in wider circulation by at least the latter third of the twelfth century.[38] Under Roger II, trilingual inscriptions and an awkward confluence of Arab-Islamic, Byzantine and Romanesque architectural and decorative styles in the royal chapel and palaces has been understood as an attempt to reconcile the recent unification of the realm with the reality of a society divided by religion, language,

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[37] For the general context and development of Arab-Islamic chanceries, see Colin, Duri and Gottschalk (1965), and, specifically, see Johns *The Royal Dīwan* (forthcoming).

[38] The *Siculi trilingues* of Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 11.5 in the 2nd century AD. Cf. also Peter of Eboli, *Liber ad Honorem Augusti*, ed. G.B. Siragusa (FSI 1906), p. 9, line 56, *'hactenus urbs felix populo dotata trilingui'*. *Trinacria, ibid.* pp. 74, 84, 89, lines 1059, 1079, 1273; the 'Letter to Peter' in *Falcandus*, 172 (translation, *Tyrants*, 254) and Peter of Blois, *Epistola* no. 46, MPL ccvii.133–4

politics and culture.[39] Such syncretic interpretations may also have contributed to confusion with the modern notion of religious toler-ance.[40] What is clear is that the purposeful adoption of many of these cosmetic and imported accoutrements has clouded our under-standing of the relationship between the kingdom's conquered Islamic communities and a kingship that owed so much to Arab-Islamic tra-ditions and relied so heavily on the employment of Muslim or ex-Muslim administrators. Indeed, one might query whether a kingship as self-conscious as that set up by George of Antioch for Roger II and which apparently proclaimed the ideal of linguistic, artistic and cultural diversity within the setting of a harmonious Christian king-dom could ever have been compatible with a society that had also been carefully divided up along religious lines. Propaganda, experiment or otherwise, the theory behind the kingship and the practicalities of its rule did not always add up, for while some aspects empha-sised the kingdom's unity, others betrayed its opposing diversities.

The presentation of Muslim-Christian relations

Evidence for this is provided by the Sicilian kings' description of themselves in epithets and formulae that consistently maintained a pro-Christian stance and never presented Muslim-Christian relations as anything but adversarial dogmas. In this respect at least, they echoed the sentiments of the early Latin historiographers. Count Roger I's wife and regent, Adelaide, was described in Arabic in 1109 as 'the defender of the Christian faith'.[41] In 1117, as a young Count, Roger II was described as 'agent of the Christians and slave of Jesus Christ'[42] and from an early stage, Greek chancery signatures described him as, 'in Christ the Lord a holy, mighty King and helper of the Christians'.[43] A royal mantle made in 1133/4 even depicted lions attacking camels (i.e. Christians attacking Muslims). Some royal epi-

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[39] For the views of art historians, see Demus (1950), Kitzinger (1960), Borsook (1990) and Tronzo (1997). For the royal trilingual inscriptions, see Amari (1971), 29–38 and 198–214. For specifically Arab-Islamic influences in the palaces, see Johns (1993).
[40] For the persistence of such ideas, see Douglas (1976), Marongiu (1963), 307–20, and for discussion see also the chapter by Hubert Houben in this volume.
[41] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 403.
[42] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 385.
[43] For example, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 129.

thets were borrowed from the Arab-Islamic tradition, but had any overtly Islamic elements stripped out of them in line with an eclectic, resourceful and even slightly pagan kingship that only operated publicly under a Christian banner.[44] This calculated ideology simultaneously presented the kings as heirs to an Arab-Islamic inheritance while introducing themselves as the champions of Christianity and by the 1140s, such formulae had become standard royal epithets as had the confident and emphatic association of Christ, authority and ascendancy. Arabic chancery sources began to celebrate the king's royal orders as officially 'strengthened by God, supported by His power and victorious by His force'.[45] William II was considered as the 'defender of the pope at Rome' and 'protector of the Christian faith'.[46] Some of the formulae in question were imported and adapted from contemporary Islamic chanceries and only appeared in their unabridged forms in Arabic, thereby revealing at least one direction in which the propaganda was aimed. However, the view that the appropriation of southern Mediterranean cultural trappings and any perceived ideological accommodation in the art, administration, palaces, manners and protocols of the Sicilian kings may be interpreted as pro-Muslim or reconcilable with royal policies towards the Muslims (inasmuch as any tangible 'policies' can be detected at all), should be treated with caution as, indeed, should any attempt to coordinate the art history of the kingdom with its actual history.

The 'palace Saracens' and religious ambiguity

A distinctive feature of the Sicilian kingship was the employment of Muslims or converted ex-Muslims. In Latin sources these were collectively known as the 'palace Saracens'.[47] These functionaries performed a variety of tasks and are attested from the early 1130s until the end of the Norman period. Most were ancillary staff around the palaces, but some were hand-picked and highly trained for managing

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[44] The Muslim *shahāda* or testimony of faith was removed from Sicilian coinage at an early stage, see Johns (1986), 11–54, although Arabic inscriptions from inside one of the royal palaces contain references to a ritual performed by Muslim pilgrims in Mecca.

[45] E.g. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 134.

[46] E.g. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 245.

[47] Falcandus refers to them generically as either *eunuchi*, or sometimes *saraceni palati*, e.g *Falcandus*, 45, 56, 115–17, 119 (translation, *Tyrants*, 99, 109, 166–7, 170).

the administration and were also groomed for military command. A great deal of mystery still surrounds these characters but all seem to have been eunuchs who had been converted to Christianity. Most of the higher ranking ones adopted Latin or Frankish baptismal names by which they were usually referred, preceded by the honorific Arabic title of *qāʾid* or 'leader'. Thus, among others helping to run the royal chancery, we find the *qāʾid-s* Philip, Martin, Peter and Richard—all castrated ex-Muslims. They were probably drawn from the Sicilian colonies in Ifrīqiya, perhaps in particular from the maverick island of Djerba, and their employment mirrored the practices of contemporary Arab-Islamic chanceries, although eunuchs were also used by the Byzantines.[48] After mid-1148, provision had even been made for all the palace staff to be buried in a Benedictine monastery between the royal palace and the church of Saint George of Kemonia.[49]

It was an open secret that most of the 'palace Saracens' continued to practise Islam. A later marginal note in Romuald's *Chronicon* which referred to Philip of Mahdiyya, a eunuch under Roger II, commented that 'he appeared to be Christian, but in mind and deed he was completely Muslim', a sentiment echoed by contemporary Muslim sources.[50] 'Falcandus' remarked that *qāʾid* Peter, a eunuch of the 1160s, 'was Christian in appearance and name only, but in spirit was Muslim just like all the palace eunuchs'.[51] In the 1180s, Ibn Jubayr recalled an informant's report that many palace staff, including some of William II's ministers, were covertly Muslim[52] By and large, this state of affairs was allowed to continue with complicity at the highest level.

Not only were the 'palace Saracens' and the island's leading Muslims politically active within the palaces, but they also articulated the views of their co-religionists with whom most apparently identified and some even maintained communication with overseas contacts.[53] Predictably, their politically precarious jobs frequently left

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[48] For eunuchs in medieval Islam generally, see Ayalon (1999).

[49] *Roger II Diplomata*, pp. 217–23, no. 76.

[50] *Romuald*, 235. Ibn al-Athīr commented similarly about Philip and his servants, see *BAS (Arabic)*, 338; translation in Amari, *BAS*, 122.

[51] *Falcandus*, 25; translation in *Tyrants*, 78.

[52] *Ibn Jubayr*, 297; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 340.

[53] Al-Harawī (d. 1215) recorded that in 1175 Sicily's leading Muslim, Abū l-Qāsim, personally gave him a letter addressed to Saladin urging him to invade Sicily, see

them open to accusations of treachery. Falcandus claimed there was a particularly close relationship between Queen Margaret and the powerful *qā'id* Peter who eventually fled to the Almohads in 1167. The same source alleged political co-operation between the 'palace Saracens' and the Almohads over the loss of Sicilian territories in Ifrīqiya.[54] He also claimed that the general massacre of 'palace Saracens' and Muslims in Palermo in 1161 was avenged by the eunuch *qā'id* Martin who put many Christians on trial while William I was on the mainland putting down the rebels.[55]

Did Roger II resort to a conversion policy?

Two early thirteenth-century accounts, one in Arabic and the other in Latin, record the trial and execution of Roger II's favoured 'palace Saracen' called Philip, along with his 'accomplices and associates' in late 1153 during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.[56] Although these sources disagree about the reasons behind Philip's arrest, neither doubts that it involved a religious matter. However, it is difficult to tease apart the political and religious motives of this affair from its political and religious consequences. The suppression of 'palace Saracens', on whose administrative skills the new king William would be heavily dependent, came during the politically sensitive succession period and only three months before Roger II's death at the end of February 1154. At Easter in 1151, Roger's politically inexperienced son had been installed as joint-ruler following the premature deaths of the king's other four sons.[57] Around the same time, the new chancery head, Maio of Bari, can be seen to have been exercising an unprecedented degree of independence within the fiscal administration, following the death of George of Antioch in 1151.[58] Furthermore, Romuald recorded how, towards the end of his life,

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BAS (Arabic), 79; translation in Amari *BAS*, appendix, 2. In 1185, Abū l-Qāsim was accused of communications with the Almohads. *Ibn Jubayr*, 314; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 358.

[54] *Falcandus*, 27, 96–9; translation in *Tyrants*, 80, 144–7.

[55] *Falcandus*, 56; translation in *Tyrants*, 129–30.

[56] Ibn al-Athīr, *BAS (Arabic)*, 338; translation in Amari, *BAS*, 122 and a lengthy marginal note in *Romuald*, 234.

[57] Tancred died c. 1138, Anfusus in October 1144, Henry c. 1145, and Roger in May 1149, Houben (1999), 124–5.

[58] Johns and Metcalfe (1999), 235.

Roger had given up secular affairs and worked in every way to convert Muslims and Jews whom he richly rewarded with gifts.[59] So, if Roger had withdrawn from political life, then the most likely dates for his retirement strongly converge on the years 1152–3.

If these observations are combined with Ibn al-Athīr's remark that Philip's death was 'the first blow dealt to the Muslims', then the incident might also be regarded as a turning-point in wider Muslim-Christian relations. However, the chief objection to the adoption of a conversion policy is the lack of evidence from this period that relates to converts who, according to Romuald, had been so richly bestowed with gifts. Indeed, the idea that a king should die piously could also be read as a religious and literary *topos*.[60] Even so, the purge of 'palace Saracens' at the end of Roger II's reign served as a reminder to all the Sicilian Muslims of their political debility. At the same time, this act strengthened the increasingly powerful hand of 'Latin' forces around the new king who had been quick to learn that to attack the 'palace Saracens' was indirectly to undermine the kingship itself. Indeed, from the early 1160s, the Latin nobility and bishops, in the form of the *familiares regis*, interposed themselves between the king and his 'palace Saracens'.[61] So although Philip's death may not have been part of a wider conversion policy, it marked an early stage in the longer-term political development of the island that would ultimately and fundamentally affect all its Muslims. As we have seen, testimony from 'Falcandus' and Ibn Jubayr shows that, from the time of Philip's death, the 'palace Saracens' remained politically vulnerable. Yet, in spite of changing circumstances, reliance on their administrative skills allowed their openly equivocal religious position to continue. As such, any apparent lack of clear royal policy can be understood as less irresolute than deliberately relaxed.

The relevance of the 'palace Saracens' extends further than merely palace politics or as examples of conversion because their behaviour had helped to make religious ambivalence an acceptable if compromised response to the problem of living under infidel Christian rule. Such an admissible dissimulation of faith under duress is the principle known to Islamic jurists as *taqiyya*.[62] The long-standing royal

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[59] *Romuald*, 235; translation in *Tyrants*, 220.

[60] Matthew (1981), 268.

[61] One might especially note the denunciation of *qā'id* Peter by Queen Margaret's cousin Count Gilbert of Gravina, 'it had been a lunatic idea that one should raise up a Muslim slave', *Falcandus*, 101; English translation, *Tyrants*, 148.

[62] Generally, see Strothmann and Djebli (2000), 134–6.

policy of ambiguity and qualified forbearance towards them as only nominally Christian permitted the emergence of a conspicuous group with a dubious religious status that hovered somewhere between Christian and Muslim. And for those prepared to run this risk or happy to subordinate their religious beliefs to their career prospects, there was much to be gained by conversion, nominal or otherwise.

The case of Ibn Zur'a and mosque conversions

In the 1180s, Ibn Jubayr recalled how a certain jurist called Ibn Zur'a was persuaded to convert by 'officials' (al-'ummāl), after which he was to give opinions, perhaps exceptionally, in legal cases for both Muslims and Christians.[63] Of particular note in this case is that Ibn Zur'a owned a mosque opposite his house that he subsequently converted to a church. Presumably Ibn Zur'a's church, which need not have been a grand structure, still resembled a mosque, but no mention is made of its former congregation or those it now attracted. Nor was this the only religious building in Sicily that had undergone such a modification. As early as 973, Ibn Ḥawqal recorded how the great congregational mosque in Palermo had once been a Greek church.[64] William of Apulia then tells us that exactly a century later, Robert Guiscard converted the main mosque to a cathedral church devoted to the Virgin Mother—'where there was once the seat of Muḥammad and his demons, he set the throne of God'.[65] Among Arabic sources, Ibn Ḥamdīs poetically recalled that in the late eleventh century the Christians had 'changed mosques into churches'.[66] This process continued into the twelfth century with the conversion of a mosque into a church dedicated to Thomas Becket by Bishop Robert of Catania in 1179.[67] However, if these mosques became churches, there were many more that must have remained as mosques at least into the 1180s. Ibn Jubayr recalled mosques in Termini, Qaṣr Sa'd (Solento castle), Palermo, Alcamo and Trapani.

Somewhat counter-intuitively, the role of the church and the process of church building may have little bearing on the conversion question. As the examples of the 'palace Saracens' and some of the

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[63] Ibn Jubayr, 313; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 357.
[64] Ibn Hawqal, 118; translation in Kramers & Wiet (1964), 117.
[65] W. Apulia, Book III, lines 332–6, pp. 182–3.
[66] Ibn Ḥamdīs, BAS (Arabic), 651; translation in Amari, BAS, 234.
[67] Catana Sacra (1654), 85.

Muslim elite show, conversion was more a political or social matter than a religious one. Indeed, the role of the Church was conspicuously absent in the examples we know of. Although at least fifty Latin monasteries had been founded by the end of the Norman period, their location was predominantly towards the east and northeastern parts of the island and were made partly according to existing supply and demand. As such, they were poorly placed to promote Christianity, prompting the fair conclusion that Latin monasteries 'were not intended as agents of Latinisation'.[68]

The example of Ibn Zur'a and his mosque conversion show how much of the spiritual welfare of Muslim religious communities may have been in the hands of private individuals. It also provides an insight behind the possible reasons for conversion of the Muslim social elite whose authority represented the keystone of indirect rule and who might have provided useful leverage in fostering wider conversions further down the social scale. Throughout the Norman period, there are examples of similar types of conversions amongst the Muslim elite or community leaders and it seems to have been a continuing concern. We cannot be sure whether this pattern of constantly pruning back the already depleted Muslim leadership was also designed to cause a trickle-down conversion effect, but there is a clear hint that the policy had the potential to set in motion a wider trend. We are told by Ibn Jubayr that the Sicilian Muslim leader Abū l-Qāsim, who had enjoyed a long career in commerce and the fiscal administration, was under considerable pressure to convert but had refused. On his social standing in the 1180s, Ibn Jubayr reported that the Christians reckoned that if he had converted then every other Muslim on the island would have followed suit.[69] But while there is evidence to suggest that figures among the higher social groups were deliberately and consistently earmarked for conversion, it is doubtful whether any conversion policy was, or could have been, applied directly very far down the social scale. At a district administrative level, there is little evidence that relates to officials' names and religious persuasion, but at least some provincial governors ('*āmil-s* or *strategoti*) are known or thought to have been Christians.[70] However,

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[68] White (1938), 59–60.

[69] *Ibn Jubayr*, 315; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 360.

[70] For example, George of Antioch and a certain Abū l-Ṭayyib, son of a sheikh Stefan are attested as *strategoti* of Iato in 1114 and 1149. Cf. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 515 and 29.

at village level in the south-west, names of local village sheikhs, *qāḍī-s* ('magistrates'), *ra'īs-s* ('heads'), *qā'id-s* ('leaders') and their families that appear on villein registers reveal only one individual who seems to have been a Christian.[71] Yet this is not to deny that the lower social levels were unaware of the changes and pressures that had been increasingly brought to bear on those within the higher echelons of their own community or were unaffected by a number of powerful social undercurrents.

Changes to the religious base of the island: onomastic data as evidence

Changes to the socio-religious base of the island cannot be traced with ease due to the lack of corroborative evidence. At the heart of the question is whether reported examples of conversion were illustrative and typical of wider change, or conversely, whether they were singular instances recorded precisely in virtue of their exceptional nature. In recent years attempts have been made, with varying degrees of caution, to reconcile onomastic data with evidence for conversion or to show the existence of an independent Arab-Christian community.[72] Miscellaneous documents provide short lists of witnesses and signatories, but more importantly, a number of fiscal registers of villeins survive. These were compiled between 1095–1183 and recorded several thousand names of household heads whose families had been granted to landlords. In some cases, the villeins—the vast majority of whom seem to have been Muslim—were categorised according to place and/or religion and many of the names suggest professions, places of origin and social or religious background. Some names even comprise of elements derived from more than one language and are perhaps indicative of the somewhat mottled composition of Sicilian society.

Certainly this onomastic evidence offers tempting bait, but it provides insufficient information from which to reconstruct reliable models of religious conversion, socio-economic conditions or migration patterns due to the number of serious quantitative and qualitative reservations that inevitably surround this type of data. Nonetheless, the data does produce a number of thought-provoking examples. We

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[71] The Christian-sounding *qā'id* Yūsuf Qissīs—'Joseph Priest'. Cusa, *Diplomi*, 265a.
[72] Johns (1995) and Bresc & Nef (1998).

find, for instance, a significant minority of individuals with intrigu-
ing combinations of names. Perhaps the most confused example
comes from a Greek document of sale of 1169 involving a certain
Christodoulos and Sitt al-Ḥusūn and which concerned a house in
Palermo.[73] He was the son of an Abū l-Sayyid; she was the daugh-
ter of Peter of Castronuovo who signed his name in Latin, and hus-
band of an ʿAbd al-Saʿīd.[74] Among the other witnesses to the deal
were Simeon, son of Andrea al-Raḥḥām who signed in Arabic as
well as a certain Theodore, the son of Leo al-Khanzārī (the Arabic
for pig-farmer) who signed in Greek. It is important to add that
although such a strange mix of names was not untypical for those
involved in land or house sales around Palermo in the 1160s and
70s, it was not representative of the norm among the wider popu-
lation of rural Muslim villeins. As we shall also see, it is weak to
assume that Arabic names should be automatically associated with
Muslims or non-Arabic names with converts.

The uncertainty surrounding the interpretation of mixed names is
compounded by the peculiar and enduring tendency to adopt alter-
native names. An Arabic register from 1117 recorded a villein as
'Muḥammad, who in Greek is called Bānzūl'.[75] At the other end of
the social scale, the 'palace Saracen' *qāʾid* Peter was also known in
Arabic by the Frankish name Barūn. When he fled back to North
Africa in 1167 to work for the Almohads, he took the name Aḥmad
al-Ṣiqillī.[76] There was a Sicilian Christian *amīr* Eugenios 'tou kalou'
or literally 'of the good', also known by his Arabic cognate, Abū
l-Ṭayyib, not to be confused with his namesake, the famous trilingual
scholar and Master of the *Duana Baronum* on the mainland.[77] Indeed,
there are a number of names that may have been considered equiv-
alents such as Christodoulos and ʿAbdalla or ʿAbd al-Masīḥ, although
it is rare to find examples explicitly said to be equivalents. The names
'Christodoulos' and the feminine version of 'Christodoula' (literally
'the slave of Christ') are highly unusual as Greek names and are

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[73] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 76.
[74] Peter of Castronuovo is possibly identical to the Master Captain of Apulia in
the mid-1150s who had the same name, see *Tyrants*, 119.
[75] Guillou (1963), 55.
[76] 'Aḥmad the Sicilian'. Cf. Johns and Metcalfe (1999), 231 n. 24.
[77] As recorded in a Latin translation of 1258 from a Greek-Arabic original of
August 1175, cf. Spata (1862), 451–6. See Jamison (1957), 56–8, for the two *amīr-s*.

barely attested outside Sicily, yet were common on the island itself. The addition of 'doulos' seems to echo a translation of the Arabic 'Abd al- for 'slave of', which is followed by a name or attribute of God in Muslim personal names.[78]

Some common names, adapted from Arabic, such as Bucheris, Maimunis, Mules, Morabito and Changemis were popular in communities where most people had names of Greek or mixed Arabic-Greek origin.[79] This raises the likelihood that the many religiously-neutral Arabic names used in Christian circles had long since ceased to be considered the preserve of Muslim communities. It is also quite probable that the people Latin sources called 'Greeks', in very many cases, can be considered as part of a wider socio-linguistic group that included many who might also be described as 'Arab-Christians'. Latin sources presumably referred to 'Greeks' as such, not only on confessional grounds and because Greek was the language of their liturgy, but also because, at least in the early days, Greek was the most obvious medium of communication (either directly or indirectly) between the Normans and the indigenous Sicilian Christians. However, it may be oversimplified to regard 'Greeks' and 'Arab-Christians' as two distinct communities because it is quite probable that many indigenous Sicilian Christian groups on the island comprised of bilingual Arabic-Greek speakers, the relative strengths of their languages and identities contingent on the greatly-varying background cultures and circumstances of their particular region. Indeed, a large body of vernacular interferences between Greek and Arabic that appear regularly in both public and private documentation throughout the entire Norman period suggest a similar conclusion of widespread Greek-Arabic bilingualism.[80]

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[78] In a Greek confirmation from 1117, Count Roger II was described as Christ's *doulos*, Cusa, *Diplomi*, 385.

[79] From the Arabic names; Abū Bakr, Maymūn, Mawlā, Murbiṭ and Ḥajjām. All are also modern Sicilian surnames, derived from the Greek form of the original Arabic i.e. Buccheri, Maimone, Mulè, Moràbito and Cangemi, see Caracausi (1993). Cf. also, the names in the villein communities around Patti and Nicótera, Garufi (1928), 92–100, and Cusa, *Diplomi*, 26–7.

[80] Metcalfe, *Muslims and Christians in 'Norman' Sicily: Arabic-speakers and the end of Islam*, (forthcoming 2002). A specific example was the Arabic-speaking cleric whom Robert Guiscard sent as an envoy to Palermo in 1061, *Amatus*, V.24, p. 244.

Distinguishing between Muslims and Sicilian Christians

In the villein registers that recorded largely rural Muslim commu-
nities, there are some names traceable to Greek and a few to Latin
or Frankish origins. Overall, these names represent only a very small
proportion of the total (less than three percent), and the more obvi-
ous conclusion that 97 percent of the villeins had names derived
from Semitic or Arab-Islamic traditions should not be overlooked.
However, Greek/Latin *and* Muslim names appear to have been com-
mon among the Christian community of Corleone in 1178.[81] Over
one third of these had names with non-Arabic or mixed elements.
The names of the Corleone Christians are remarkable in three
respects. First, the preference for Arabicised forms of Greek names
e.g. Raqlī (< Herakles) and B.r.nqāṭ (< Pankratios) contributes pos-
itively to the suggestion that Christian families with Greek names
were well assimilated into the background Arab-Islamic culture of
western Sicily. Secondly, we see the same unpredictable mix of Greek
and Arabic elements that were characteristic of some (non-villein)
Palermitan families. This suggests that the adoption of names with
diverse origins was a conscious and considered practice within some
communities. Among the Christian villeins from Corleone, we find
a certain Makhūna who had a son Nikiforos, who in turn had sons
called Khilfa and Abū Ghālib. Finally, several names more usually
associated with Muslims can be found among this community too.
These include two Muḥammad-s, an 'Abdalla, Ḥammūd, Aḥmad and
an 'Alī. Given the long history of Arab-Islamic influence and assim-
ilation in that area, combined with observations made about nam-
ing and identity, there is no reason to import the notion that these
were converts to Christianity.[82] Nonetheless, this evidence points to
a conclusion with far-reaching implications. The Christian families
from Corleone were listed beside their fellow Muslim villeins from
the same area. But while the Muslims easily formed the majority,
the Christians represented 19 percent of the total. Thus, as Jeremy
Johns has pointed out, 'if Christian culture had survived amongst
the Muslim peasantry of the Val di Mazara where Arab settlement

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[81] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 145–7. The names of 51 household heads and newly-weds were
recorded.
[82] Kedar (1984), 51, 'it stands to reason that many of [these], all serfs of the
abbey of Monreale, were converts to Christianity'.

was heaviest, how much more must it have done so in the rest of the island?'[83]

Apart from the Christians of Corleone (and, elsewhere, the Jews of Catania), it is generally presumed that all others who were not specifically listed as non-Muslims in the charters and villein registers were, in fact, Muslims. Yet this assumption presents difficulties because some names on the register suggest that Sicilian Christians were otherwise registered alongside Muslims. Among others, these included villeins called al-Rāhib ('the monk'),[84] al-Qaljūrī (< Greek *kalogeros*, 'the monk'),[85] al-Qissīs ('the priest'),[86] Abū l-Salīb ('of the cross'),[87] al-Nastāsī (< Greek *anastasis*, 'resurrection'),[88] and al-Maranāwiyya ('the Maronite').[89] To clinch the case for the documents containing a mix of Muslims and Christians, there exists a Latin charter of 1136, which positively identifies eleven named villeins as Christian, and twenty four others as 'Saracens' (i.e. Muslims).[90] When this list came to be re-issued as a confirmation in Arabic and Greek by the royal chancery nine years later, this religious information was omitted.[91] So, at least in this case, the royally-confirmed donation mixed Christians and Muslims together indiscriminately. One effect of this was that the registers would have been of no help to landlords had they wanted to use them to collect the *jizya*, so instead, they often resorted to drawing up their own lists based on the contents of the royal concession.[92]

The possibility that one could find Christians called Muḥammad living besides Muslims with Greek names only compounds our inability to distinguish Sicilian Christians from Muslims. While this threatens to undermine socio-historical evaluations that have considered the villein communities in the west as exclusively Muslim or of others as simplistically 'Greek', it adds to our understanding of the cultural and linguistic proximity of many native Sicilian Christians to

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[83] Johns (1995), 152.
[84] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 148a, 148b, 151a, 163b.
[85] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 479a.
[86] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 163a, 265a, 266b.
[87] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 163b.
[88] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 578a.
[89] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 169a.
[90] *Documenti inediti*, 25–6 no. 11.
[91] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 479.
[92] Cf. the registers, translated into Latin, that recorded villeins held by the churches of Lipari-Patti and Cefalù, Garufi (1928), 92–100, *Rollus Rubeus*, 39–41.

the Muslims. It is also clear that the complex and subtle dynamics of Sicily's unique socio-linguistic and religious communities bear only passing resemblance to those of Spain and share none of the terms used there such as *Mozarabs, Marranos, Moriscos* or *Mudejars*.[93] Relatively small in number as Christians who knew Arabic in Sicily were, they had played a disproportionately important role in the administration and also in the social cement of the island. In effect, they acted as an important intermediary between the Muslims and Sicily's other religious communities in the sense that they shared connections with their Muslim and Jewish neighbours through use of the same language and many aspects of a shared cultural heritage. At the same time, all the island's Christians were linked in the sense that they shared a common bond of faith in its various forms.

If Muslims or Jews had wanted to convert or incline towards Christianity, it is clear that they would have faced some serious social obstacles. The 'Latin' communities, especially those of immigrant northern Italian 'Lombards', were the Muslims' principal enemy and relations between the two parties were often bitterly hostile. 'Falcandus' noted how a massacre of Muslims in Palermo in 1161 was followed by 'Lombard' disturbances on the other side of the island in Syracuse and Catania. Significantly, he recalled that some Muslims 'secretly slipped away in flight or, assuming the guise of Christians, escaped to less dangerous Muslim towns in the southern parts of Sicily'.[94] Under these circumstances, even the most determined would have found it hard to overcome the considerable social and political difficulties involved in conversion, let alone the significant language barrier. On the other hand, any Muslims who chose to re-align themselves with Arabic-speaking elements of Christian communities might have found a safer alternative solution.

The cultural proximity of Muslims and non-Latin Christians generally is shown in an extraordinary piece of eye-witness evidence. In Palermo around Christmas in 1184, young Christian women caught the eye of Ibn Jubayr as they passed by him on their way to the Byzantine Greek church of St. Mary of the Admiral, founded by George of Antioch in 1143. He vividly recalled that:

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[93] For a more analogous view of Spain and Sicily, see Bresc (1980).
[94] *Falcandus*, 70; translation in *Tyrants*, 121–2.

the Christian women's dress in this city [Palermo] is the dress of
Muslims; they are eloquent speakers of Arabic (*faṣīḥāt al-alsan*) and cover
themselves with veils. They go out at this aforesaid festival [Christmas]
clothed in golden silk, covered in shining wraps, colourful veils and
with light gilded sandals. They appear at their churches bearing all
the finery of Muslim women in their attire, henna and perfume.[95]

Clearly, there were great similarities between some Arabic-speaking
Christians and Muslim communities with regard to their culture, lan-
guage and appearance. Churches, some of which used to be mosques
and probably still looked like them, even performed a rite in Arabic.[96]
Certainly, when the need arose, Muslims in the west could con-
vincingly pass for Sicilian Christians, as confirmed by 'Falcandus' when
he described how Muslims fled for the safety of the south-west by
pretending to be Christians. And if some Muslims were deliberately
smudging the margins of their identity then, as we have seen, they
had the high-ranking and dissembling precedents of the 'palace
Saracens' and conspicuous members of the Muslim elite to emulate.

While the imbalance of the island's religious base was initially
caused by Latin-Christian immigration and finalised by the sup-
pression of the Muslim rebellions, it is also likely that the narrow-
ing of the gap between the fringes of different socio-linguistic and
religious groups had created something of a sliding social scale. In
some parts of Sicily, divisions within this may never have been very
distinct anyway. In turn, this contributed to the hazy transition from
an Arab-Muslim culture to a Christian-based blend within two cen-
turies with very little direct or explicit evidence for widespread con-
version. So, rather than a straightforward picture of socio-religious
change, a more complex and blurred spectrum of shifting identities
and allegiances emerges as the margins of some Muslim communi-
ties merged indistinguishably with their Sicilian Christian neighbours
who also knew Arabic, a move that further obfuscated the defining
edges of such social groups and thereby allowed advantage to be
taken of the protection this might offer. Within bilingual Arabic-
Greek Christian communities, the trend was back towards their old
'Greek' ways and names and ultimately towards the prestigious *mores*
of the 'Latin' settlers. Thus, the number of people who knew Arabic

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[95] *Ibn Jubayr*, 307; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 349–50.
[96] Johns (1995), 142–3.

and claimed to be Christian can only have swelled during the sec-
ond half of the twelfth century and, outside rebel strongholds, this
number is likely to have deflated with some rapidity after the 1220s,
as assuming the badge of Latinate manners and speech became a
crucial measure of identity and an obvious way to avoid the increas-
ingly stigmatic and perfidious association of Arabic and Islam.

The end of the Muslims: rebellion and deportation

But while twelfth-century Sicily witnessed the long-term erosion of
boundaries between some socio-religious groups, Christian rule had
also provoked a range of responses as shown by those among a 'fun-
damentalist' fringe whose attitudes could only have hardened over time.
In Palermo, Ibn Jubayr recalled 'innumerable' mosques (*masjid-s*) in
which teachers of the Quran kept themselves apart from their Muslim
brethren who were under the protection (*dhimma*), and therefore the
taxes, of Christian rule. Consequently, we are told, they had no secu-
rity for themselves, their money, wives or children.[97] It is not known
how many Muslim community leaders had stepped outside the tax-
for-protection mechanism, but those who did exposed themselves to
great personal pressures and the threat of being stripped of their
wealth with impunity.[98]

A stream of disaffected Muslims from the towns may have helped
to politicise the south-western Val di Mazara, particularly after the
pogroms of 1161, prior to which the Muslims (at least those in
Palermo) had been disarmed.[99] In the Val di Mazara, Muslim villeins
who had lived and worked on crown land made up most of the
population. With the vast royal concessions of this same land made
between 1176 and 1185, they passed into the hands of the Latin
church of S. Maria Nuova in Monreale. Little is known about the
reasons behind this apparently most generous of grants or the sub-
sequent relationship between the church and its villeins. However,
those Muslims who had perhaps preferred to take their lead from

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[97] *Ibn Jubayr*, 305–6; translation in Broadhurst (1952), 349.
[98] The poet Ibn Qalāqis, patronised by Abū l-Qāsim who was probably respon-
sible for collection of the *jizya* on behalf of the fiscal administration and who was
later deprived of much of his vast wealth, urged him to save the Muslims of Syracuse
from the burden of their taxes, De Simone (1996), 90.
[99] *Falcandus*, 57; English translation, *Tyrants*, 110.

the unyielding examples of Abū l-Qāsim and the Quranic teachers
of Palermo, rather than from the ambivalent *taqiyya* of the 'palace
Saracens' or other 'converts', rose in a revolt on the death of William
II in 1189, aimed more at self-preservation than a bid for outright
power. The rebels held out with a notable degree of independence
on the former estates of Monreale under the leadership of a certain
Ibn 'Abbād who even had coins minted in his name.[100] However,
from the 1220s, defeated groups of Muslim rebels were deported to
the colony of Lucera on the Italian mainland, swiftly and effectively
bringing about the demise of Islam in Sicily.

Finally, although no vestiges of specifically Islamic culture survive
to this day, there remains evidence of Arabic influence principally
in Sicilian toponymy. Arabic has also had a characteristic, but largely
superficial, impact on the island's modern dialects. To a consider-
ably more intangible degree, some see an authentic 'Oriental' flavour
to local architecture, customs and cookery.[101] More importantly, there
exists a body of modern Italian surnames derived from Arabic, but
hardly any recall specifically Islamic names. It is thus probable that
these were passed down via the offspring of old Arab-Christian and
Jewish families or perhaps from later Spanish immigrants. Thus, the
Sicilian Muslims, weakened by civil war, military defeat and emi-
gration in the eleventh century, then by the long-term effects of rad-
ical demographic, socio-religious and political change in the twelfth
and finally by military defeat again in the thirteenth, could have rep-
resented only a miserable minority of the population by the 1220s.
Following the rebels' failure and final deportations to Lucera in 1246,
any remaining Muslims in Sicily were but an inconsequential force,
leaving the western interior abandoned and de-populated.[102]

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[100] D'Angelo (1975), 149–53.
[101] Bresc (1985), 245–6.
[102] Bresc (1986), 594–602, Abulafia (1990), and Johns (1992), 407–20.

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RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN THE
SOUTH ITALIAN PENINSULA DURING
THE NORMAN AND STAUFEN PERIODS

Hubert Houben[1]

The creation of the Norman kingdom in the southern Italian penin-
sula has generated a tremendous amount of scholarly interest due
to the 'fusion' which took place there between the three most impor-
tant cultural parties of medieval Europe, namely those of the Franco-
Latin, Byzantine Greek and Arab-Muslim traditions, as well as the
kingdom's role as a 'cultural bridge' between East and West.[2] The
kingdom, founded by Roger II and inherited by Frederick II, has
been considered by some as a 'model state' due to the independent
position of its sovereigns and as a precursor to the absolutist mod-
ern State.[3] Support for this idea would appear to come from the
'tolerance' shown by the Sicilian kings towards other faiths and rites,
namely Christians of the Eastern church, Muslims and Jews.
    Although the focus of this chapter will be on the cultural aspects
of the kingdom, any investigation into the possibilities and limits of
religious tolerance towards groups outside the Latin Christian faith
must also take into account notable regional differences as well as
the political, social, economic and cultural changes that took place
in the southern Italian peninsula between the eleventh and thirteenth
century. However, as the Middle Ages was a period in which mod-
ern concepts of intellectual dignity, personal freedom and the right

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[1] This article was first published as 'Möglichkeit und Grenzen religiöser Toleranz
im normannisch-staufischen Königreich Sizilien', *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des
Mittelalters*, L (1994), 159–98, and in Italian as 'Possibilità e limiti della tolleranza
religiosa nel Mezzogiorno Normanno-Svevo', in Houben (1996), 213–42. This slightly
shorter English version, with amendments, was made by the present volume's editors.
[2] Kölzer (1982), 32.
[3] Marongiu (1963b), 312: 'by effectively suppressing papal interference and antic-
ipating by centuries the constitutional primacy of the legislative function as an idea
and in fact, Roger was a great anticipator as the builder of a State as a work of
art'. Later (*ibid.* p. 319), he claims that: 'it was a model State, in its autonomy and
in the nature of its interests a forerunner not only of the 'new monarchies' of the
sixteenth century, but also of the 'enlightened' despotism of the second half of the
eighteenth century'.

to individual conscience were somewhat alien, religious tolerance can only be understood in a rather more limited sense; that is to say, in terms of a 'practical tolerance' towards those who adhered to other faiths, or else in the sense of a co-existence between those of different faiths that went more or less undisturbed. This not only applied to western Christendom, but also to the areas under Islamic rule, where Jews and Christians were permitted to practise their own faiths, but as a result, fell into legally and socially subordinate positions.[4]

In what follows we shall deal first with the attitude of the Normans towards those who belonged to other faiths during the conquest and consolidation period of their rule until the year 1101 when Roger I, the last representative of the first generation of the Normans in the south, died. We shall then examine the status of religious minorities during the construction of the Norman monarchy in the twelfth century when the situation with regard to the Muslims changed decisively. Finally, we shall deal with the possibilities and limits of religious tolerance under Staufen rule, before assessing the specific roles of the Sicilian Jewish community and developments on the islands of Malta, Gozo and Pantelleria.

The establishment of Norman lordship (1061–1101)

During the second half of the eleventh century, when the Normans undertook the systematic conquest of southern Italy, certain areas such as Campania, the Abruzzi, the northern Basilicata and northern Apulia (i.e. the Capitanata and Terra di Bari), were primarily inhabited by a 'Latin' population.[5] The majority of these peoples were of Lombard descent, and the conquerors had rapidly intermingled with them due to their close linguistic, cultural and religious ties. However, in the southern Basilicata, the Otranto region of Apulia and Calabria, they found a population which in the previous three centuries of Byzantine rule had acquired Greek language and culture.[6] When the Norman leaders Richard Quarrel and Robert Guiscard received investiture from Pope Nicholas II in 1059, they

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[4] Noth (1978), 197 ff.
[5] About a quarter of the 'Normans' were not originally from Normandy, but from other areas of France, Flanders and Frisia. See Ménager (1981) 189–215; Loud (1981b) 13–34, and Varvaro (1980) 199–213.
[6] Generally, see Falkenhausen (1977b).

were required to recover the whole of southern Italy for the Roman Church. Conflicts with Greek bishops subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople thus became inevitable. Where it was possible to do so without arousing the resistance of the inhabitants, the Normans relatively soon installed Latin bishops, but in some cases, especially in southern Calabria, they contented themselves with the recognition by Greek prelates of the papal supremacy, something which was made easier by Rome granting permission to preserve the Greek rite. Thus, it is misleading to claim, as has sometimes been done, that the Normans pursued a determined policy of 're-latinisation' or 're-catholicisation' in southern Italy. Indeed, they not only patronised Latin ecclesiastical institutions, but Greek ones too. It was only over the course of a century and a half of Norman rule that there was a slow but irreversible decline of the Greek element, because of the advance, and in the end the preponderance, of Latin language and culture.[7]

On the island of Sicily, significant elements of a Greek population could be found too, in the Val Demone in the north-east and to a much lesser extent elsewhere, for example in Palermo, whereas the 'Latin' element had died out during the Byzantine period.[8] In contrast, the majority elsewhere on the island were Arabic-speaking Muslims, a community which included elements of Arabicised Berbers and converts from the indigenous population. Due to the Normans' numerical inferiority during the conquest, they needed the support of the Christian Greek population, hence they initially patronised Greek monasteries, although they founded Latin abbeys quite quickly too.[9]

For as long as the Normans and the Latin-Christian element remained in the minority, tolerance towards Islam was inevitable. Count Roger I of Sicily had succeeded in conquering the more important towns and guaranteed freedom of worship to their inhabitants.[10] Even before the conquest of the island had been completed, Count Roger employed a (highly visible) contingent of Muslims in his army for operations on the mainland.[11] During his visit to Roger

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[7] The classic discussion is by Ménager (1958) and (1959), but see the cautionary remarks of Loud (1988).

[8] Falkenhausen (1986a), 160.

[9] Scaduto (1947), 69–164. Houben (1995), 34–6.

[10] *Malaterra*, II.45, p. 53.

[11] The first reference to his Muslim troops comes at the siege of Salerno in 1076, *Amatus*, VIII.14, p. 354. Cf. *Malaterra*, IV.17, p. 96 (the siege of Cosenza 1091),

I in 1098, while the latter was besieging Capua, Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury noted many Muslims among his troops. His biographer, Eadmer, claimed that Anselm would have been able to convert many of them to Christianity, had not been made impossible by the express prohibition of the Count.[12] Furthermore, in 1087, Roger had refused an offer from the Pisans and Genoese to take part in an attack against the North African port of Mahdiyya, out of regard for its Zirid *amīr*, Tamīm (1062–1108).[13] So, at first sight, it is tempting to think of the Count Roger as generally tolerant towards Islam. A passage from the mid-twelfth century Muslim geographer, al-Idrīsī, about his son, King Roger II, reinforces this impression of tolerance:

> When he became the absolute master and consolidated the throne of his royal power, he made himself the apostle of justice among the peoples of Sicily. Their respective confessions and laws were maintained and life and substance were guaranteed for them and their dependents.[14]

However, other evidence serves to qualify this idea. The Norman historian, Geoffrey Malaterra, tells how after the conquest of the town of Castrogiovanni (modern Enna), Roger I forced the town's Muslim lord called 'Chamutus' (Hammūd) to convert to Christianity.[15] From a Greek document of 1141, we learn that the Count Roger II had been the godfather of a Muslim called Ahmad, who on being baptised had taken the name of Roger.[16] So, we can infer that religious freedom was only granted in cases where the majority of a town's inhabitants were Muslim, as for example in Palermo, where there was a continued need for their co-operation. On the other hand, it is likely that the prohibition on conversion to Christianity was limited to Muslim troops.[17] These were valuable in conflicts against Christian forces on the mainland and, from Roger II to Manfred, showed themselves to be dependable when there was dispute with the papacy. Certain sectors of the Norman kingdom, such

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IV.22, p. 100 (the siege of Castrovillari 1094), IV.26, p. 104 (siege of Capua 1098). See also the claim in a Bari Annal that in 1096, 'the count besieged Amalfi with 20,000 Muslims, countless others and all the counts of Apulia', Lupus Prothospatharius, *Annales 855–1102*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH SS*, v.62. Loud (2000a), 170, 184.

[12] *The Life of Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, by Eadmer*, ed. & trans. R.W. Southern (London 1962), ii, 23, pp. 110–2.

[13] *Malaterra*, IV.3, pp. 86–7. Ibn al-Athīr, translation in Amari, *BAS*, 450–2.

[14] Amari, *BAS*, 57.

[15] *Malaterra*, IV.6, p. 88.

[16] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 16.

[17] See also Falkenhausen (1977), 348–50.

as the financial administration, remained in the hands of Muslims, but little by little conversion to Christianity seems to have been a prerequisite for such a career.[18]

Roger I, who probably only had a superficial knowledge of Greek language and culture, tried to augment the Christian population of Sicily. After imposing his rule over the islands of Malta and Gozo in 1091, he settled some of the Christians whom he had 'liberated' in Sicily.[19] These were probably pilgrims and merchants who had fallen into the hands of the Muslims. Following the marriage to his third wife, Adelaide, from the Aleramici clan in Piedmont, many northern Italians (the sources refer to them as *lombardi*, as opposed to the *longobardi* from southern Italy) settled on the island of Sicily from the late eleventh century onwards.[20] Newly-founded Latin abbeys such as St. Bartolomew of Lipari (by 1085); St. Agatha at Catania (1091); the Holy Saviour at Patti (1094) and St. Mary of Messina (by 1101) also contributed to the expansion of the 'Latin' element.[21] For example, the Abbot of the Holy Saviour at Patti allowed only 'men of the Latin tongue, whoever they might be' to settle in the town itself.[22] A document drawn up in 1117 at the monastery of St Bartholomew of Lipari mentions a monk called 'Philip the Arab', who was probably a convert.[23]

The creation of the kingdom and rule of Roger II (1130–1154)

In contrast to his father, who had migrated from Normandy, Roger II had a good knowledge of Greek language and culture, as he was born and brought up in Calabria. After the shift of the centre of government from Mileto to Messina, and then to Palermo around 1112, Roger II came into direct contact with Arab-Muslim culture, although he did not necessarily have a good knowledge of Arabic himself.[24] Roger involved himself with the re-organisation of Greek

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[18] Schack (1969), 73.
[19] *Malaterra*, IV.16, pp. 95–6. See also Luttrell (1973), 470.
[20] See Houben (1991) and Bresc (1992).
[21] White (1938), 77–84, 105–9 and 153–4. *Italia Pontifica*, x.284, 358–9, 331. *Les Actes Latins de S. Maria di Messina*, ed. L.-R. Ménager (Palermo 1963), 12–17. See also Houben (1995), 44–5.
[22] *Roger II Diplomata*, 64–6, no. 23.
[23] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 512.
[24] Schack (1969), 133 ff.

monasticism, which was in increasing difficulties because of a short-
age of recruits as a result of the progressive Latinisation of the south-
ern Italian peninsula. Indeed, he patronised the monastery of the
Holy Saviour near Messina which he had personally founded. Greek
culture flourished at the royal court and Greek preaching took place
in the palace chapel and in Palermo cathedral.[25] Roger II even had
Greek signatures made on royal diplomas written in Latin and which
were produced in smaller numbers that those in Greek.[26] Under his
successor, William I (1154–66), the court became 'a focus of Greek
studies of a philosophical and scientific bent', where Henry Aristippus
translated works of Aristotle and Plato into Latin.[27]

However, during the course of the twelfth century, the importance
of Greek culture markedly diminished. The dominant role in the
kingdom's administration played by the Italo-Greeks was soon usurped
by men of Latin speech. However, bilingual functionaries such as
the so-called Iudex Tarantinus, who was Master Justiciar of the royal
court from 1159 to 1171 and the *amīr* Eugenius, Master of the *Duana
Baronum* from 1174, remained attached to Greek culture and reli-
gious life.[28] While the Greek Christians showed themselves prepared
to accept a subordinate position, as they did in the Norman and
Staufen kingdoms, the co-existence between Greek and Latin Christians
did not bring problems. On the other hand, co-existence between
Christians and Muslims always remained problematic. After the polit-
ical unification of southern Italy and Sicily, undertaken by Roger II
from 1127, but not fully accomplished until after 1139 with the
annexation of predominantly 'Latin' areas such as the Abruzzi,
Campania and north-central Apulia, Greek and Muslim elements
began to diminish. Only at the court of Roger II in Palermo did
Greek and Arab-Muslim culture continue to flourish. This is clearly
shown by structures such as the royal Palatine Chapel and the so-
called Martorana, the church of St. Mary founded privately by
George of Antioch. Craftsmen trained within Greek-Byzantine and
Arab-Muslim traditions contributed to the construction and decora-
tion of both of these buildings.[29]

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[25] White (1938), 45–6. Scaduto (1947), 165–213. Falkenhausen (1979), 149 ff. See
also Filagathos Keramedes, *Omelie*, especially no. xxvii given in the royal chapel.
[26] Brühl and Noth (1983), 57.
[27] Berschin (1988), 231–5.
[28] Jamison (1957) and (1967).
[29] See Ćurčić (1987), 140 ff.; Borsook (1990); Brenk (1990) and Kitzinger (1990).

The migration of Sicilian Muslim intellectuals to Spain and North Africa after the Norman conquest had a negative effect on Arab culture. However, given the generally high level of mobility that many of these scholars enjoyed, this phenomenon should not be considered simply as a reaction to the new Christian rule. Even before the coming of the Normans there were Sicilian Muslim scholars who moved abroad. This mobility is shown by the case of the North African Muslim geographer al-Idrīsī who was patronised by Roger II and possibly by William I.

The palaces and parks built for recreation by Roger II, his interest in the natural sciences and technical matters, his customary Arab-Muslim lifestyle at court with its eunuchs and harem girls, showed the strong influence of Arab culture.[30] In addition, Roger's surviving royal mantle, decorated with Arabic symbols and inscriptions and adopted by the Staufen; the parasol used as a symbol of lordship and following the Fatimid model as well as the 'alāma or formulae used in royal documents in Arabic, all seem to confirm the famous description of Roger by Michele Amari as a 'baptised sultan'.[31] However, one should also consider that Roger was described on coins with an Arabic inscription as 'the defender of Christianity' and that, according to al-Idrīsī, he was addressed by Arabic titles including 'the protector of the imām at Rome'.[32] One should probably make a basic distinction between a court suffused with Arab culture on the one hand and the personal religious beliefs of the ruler on the other. Roger was undoubtedly a Christian, but considered himself as depending entirely on God and therefore as superior to the church.[33]

In his legislation, Roger II guaranteed religious liberty and respect for the customs of all 'peoples' of his kingdom.[34] Hence, he allowed for example, the inhabitants of the North African coastal towns conquered in 1146–8, to retain their Muslim faith and considerable administrative autonomy, in return for the payment of tribute. At

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[30] *Falcandus*, 69 (*palatii puellae*), 86 (*eunuchi*) [*Tyrants*, 120, 136], and *passim*. See above, in the chapter by Alex Metcalfe, pp. 299, 303–4.

[31] Amari (1933–39), iii.372.

[32] Johns (1986), 27, Travaini (1990), 34, Travaini (1995), 50–1, 119–23.

[33] It strikes me as incorrect to speak of an indifferent attitude towards religion as suggested by Epifano (1905), 479–83 and Caspar (1904), 447.

[34] Brandileone (1884), 96, Monti (1945), 116, and the *Le Assise di Ariano*. ed. O. Zecchino, Cava dei Tirreni, 1984, 26. See also, Ménager (1969), 476–96; Enzensberger (1971), 1123–4, and Trombetti Budriesi (1992).

the same time (1148), the Norman ruler pledged himself to bring the archbishop of 'Africa', that is of Mahdiyya, back to his see, and had recourse to the pope to obtain his consecration.[35]

Roger II's tolerance, praised by later Arab chroniclers, appears to have lessened towards the end of his life, probably under the influence of the Latin clergy and nobility. Information from a marginal note in Romuald of Salerno's chronicle relating to the year 1153, unfortunately transmitted in an unsatisfactory way, tells of the execution of a baptised eunuch in charge of the fleet, called Philip of Mahdiyya, for apostasy from the Christian faith.[36] The main text of the chronicle attributed to Archbishop Romuald recounted that, towards the end of his life, the king 'having allowed secular matters to be neglected and delayed, worked in every conceivable way to convert Jews and Muslims to the faith of Christ and endowed converts with many gifts and resources'.[37]

The Grisandus inscription, the Arabic rite and converts to Christianity

A sepulchral inscription made in Palermo in 1148, to which attention has been drawn by the art historian, Wolfgang Krönig, has been described as 'a notable document of the tolerant culture of the twelfth century in the multi-ethnic state of Norman Sicily'.[38] The inscription was made in four types of script (Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic), but which represented only three languages (Latin, Greek and Arabic), since that in Hebrew script, as with some other Sicilian Jewish inscriptions, was made in Judeo-Arabic, that is to say, Arabic written with Hebrew letters. The inscriptions commemorated Anna, the mother of a cleric of Norman descent, called Grisandus, who was linked to the Palatine chapel. The differences between the various versions of the funerary inscriptions have been explained as an attempt to illustrate the common elements of the various religions and 'to throw a bridge between the different religious communities'.[39] However, such an interpretation strikes me as unconvincing.

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[35] Sigebert of Gembloux, in *MGH SS* vi.454.

[36] Ibn al-Athīr, translation in Amari, *BAS*, 479 ff. and *Romuald*, 234–6 [*Tyrants*, 220–1].

[37] *Romuald*, 236.

[38] Krönig (1989), 550. For the inscription itself, see Amari (1971), 201 ff.

[39] Krönig (1989), 556 ff. See also, Johns (1987), 91, who suggests that the 'propaganda of syncretism and eclecticism which proclaimed that, under the unifying rule of the de Hauteville monarchy, the various peoples of the kingdom had been fused together into a single Sicilian people'.

The inscription was located over Anna's tomb inside a chapel built in 1149. So too was a trilingual (Latin, Greek and Arabic) epitaph of Drogo, Grisandus' father. We might thus conclude that the epitaph was probably never seen by anyone who was not of the Christian faith. We might also note that the inscriptions of the quadrilingual epitaph were grouped round a cross which bore an abbreviated Greek inscription in capital letters, which read IC. XC. NIKA ('J[esu]S Ch[risto]S conquers'). Furthermore, the content of the epitaph is entirely Christian. The only non-Christian elements are the years, shown in the Hebrew script according to Jewish reckoning from the creation of the world. The Arabic inscription used the Islamic calendar that began with the migration (*hijra*) of Mu ammad from Mecca to Madīna. Both the Arabic and Hebrew inscriptions end with a reference to 'the chapel of Saint Anne, using the name of Anna the mother of Mary, mother of the Messiah'. But if one begins from the premise that these inscriptions should be considered 'non-Christian', intended to throw a sort of bridge to the Jews and their monotheistic religion, which was recognised by both Christians and Muslims as their common base, then this might come as a something of a surprise. However, these inscriptions were probably only intended for Christians. The statement that Mary was the mother of the Messiah was not one that Jews could accept, while in the Arabic inscription Roger II was expressly described as 'the defender of the Roman pontiff' and 'protector of the Christian religion'. The inscriptions in Hebrew and Arabic were thus aimed at Christians of Jewish and/or Muslim origin; that is to say, for converts. In particular, the Arabic inscription was intended for the so-called *Mozarabs* or Christians whose language and liturgy were Arabic. These *Mozarabs* not only lived in Spain, but also in Sicily, something that has rarely been noted by scholars until now.

This is confirmed by a Greek-Arabic-Latin psaltar produced in Palermo between 1132 and 1153 (London, British Library, ms. Harley 5786). Here the text was written in three parallel columns: on the left, the Septaguint in Greek; in the centre, the Latin Vulgate and on the right, an Arabic (Melkite) version of the psaltar. In the margins are notes in Arabic that reveal the existence of a liturgy based on the model of the Latin version. These marginal notes referred to the liturgical offices of the week from Matins to Vespers. The Arabist Jeremy Johns maintains that the codex was intended for the Palatine Chapel in Palermo, where he noted that both Greek and Arabic liturgies were used, one sung alongside the other. The Arabic texts

must have been intended for the Arab-Christians living at court, hence for laymen. However, the Arabic notations, transcribed and translated by this same scholar, show that the psaltar was in use in a religious community of monks or clerics.[40] Indeed, there were *Mozarab* Christians living in Palermo outside the court too.[41] As late as c. 1340 a German traveller, Ludolf of Sudheim, claimed that there were Christians of the Latin, Greek and 'Saracen' rite in Sicily.[42]

The Muslims under William I and II (1154–1189)

A growing and general intolerance of the Christian population towards the Muslims can be seen in various episodes which occurred under William I. In 1161, during a rebellion organised by some of the nobles, numerous eunuchs and other Muslims were killed in Palermo.[43] The 'Lombards' or north Italians who had migrated to Sicily were particularly intolerant and took the opportunity to murder the neighbouring Arabs.[44] Battles occurred within the royal army between Muslim and Christian soldiers, which were restrained with difficulty by William himself.[45] The 'Lombard' settlements formed a wedge between the zone of Muslim settlement in the west of Sicily (the Val di Mazara) and that in the south-east (the Val di Noto), which also isolated the Greek north-east (the Val Demone) from the rest of the island.[46]

Under the government of William II, the Arab-Muslim way of life at court was preserved. The king, who was alleged to know Arabic well, was tolerant towards the Muslims who had nominally converted to Christianity and who lived and worked in the palaces. At the same time, he considered himself to be the protector of Christianity in the Mediterranean. It is noteworthy that, unlike his predecessors, he was ready to furnish support for the Crusaders in the Holy Land, sending a fleet to the help of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.[47]

The chapters concerning Sicily in the account of the Andalusian Muslim Ibn Jubayr, who visited the island in 1184–5, have sometimes

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[40] For their transcription and translation, see Johns (1983) appendix ii, 326 ff.
[41] Bresc (1985), 248 ff.
[42] *De Itinere Terre Sancte Liber*, ed. F. Deycks (Stuttgart 1851), 20.
[43] *Falcandus*, 56–7 [translation in *Tyrants*, 109–10].
[44] *Falcandus*, 70 [*Tyrants*, 121–2].
[45] *Falcandus*, 73. See also *Romuald*, 248 [*Tyrants*, 124, 231–2].
[46] See the map in Bresc (1986), 595.
[47] Wieruszowski (1969), 32–40.

been misinterpreted and must take account of the fact that his remarks that relate to William II's tolerance of Islam show both light and dark in his portrayal. For example, in an early passage, one reads that:

The finest town in Sicily and the seat of its sovereign is known to the Muslims as al-Madīna and to the Christians as Palermo. It has Muslim citizens who possess mosques and their own markets in the many suburbs [. . .] their king is admirable for his just conduct and the use he makes of the industry of the Muslims and for choosing eunuch pages, who all, or nearly all, conceal their faith yet hold firm to the law of Islam. He has much confidence in Muslims, relying on them for his affairs and for most important matters. Even the supervisor of his kitchen is a Muslim. He keeps a band of black Muslim slaves commanded by a leader chosen from among them. His ministers and chamberlains (ḥujjāb) he appoints from among his pages, of whom he has a great number and who are public officials and are described as courtiers. In them shines the splendour of his realm for the magnificent clothing and fiery horses they display, each having his entourage of servants and followers.[48]

Furthermore, Ibn Jubayr spoke of the pleasure palaces of the king staffed by numerous eunuchs and handmaidens, of his doctors and astrologers and of his ability to read and write in Arabic. Ibn Jubayr then recounted that 'that handmaidens and concubines in his palace are all Muslim' and that they had converted the Christian women living in the royal palace to Islam. When the island was hit by a powerful earthquake, the king discovered that the women and eunuchs were calling on 'God and his Prophet' (i.e. Muḥammad). When they realised that the king was there, they were dumbstruck, but the sovereign said, 'Let each invoke the God he worships and those who have faith shall be comforted!'[49]

In the royal palace at Messina, Ibn Jubayr met one of the eunuchs and discovered that the situation of the Muslims was not in fact so rosy as he had at first believed. The servant confessed to him in private: 'We must conceal our faith and must adhere to the worship of God and the discharge of our religious duties in secret. We are bound in the possession of an infidel who has placed on our necks the noose of bondage'.[50] Ibn Jubayr in other passages recorded that although the Sicilian Muslims had their own judges (qāḍī-s) and

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[48] Ibn Jubayr, translated in Amari, *BAS*, 148–9. Broadhurst (1952), 340.
[49] Broadhurst (1952), 341.
[50] Amari, *BAS*, 160–1, Broadhurst (1952), 342.

mosques that 'they do not congregate for the Friday, since the *khuṭba* (Friday sermon) is forbidden'.[51] Admittedly, the desire Ibn Jubayr expressed in his account of the sad situation of the Muslims under infidel rule, the God should exterminate the 'worshippers of crosses' may be a rhetorical device intended for his Muslim readership. However, the passages cited clearly show the ambiguity and limitations of the concessions made to the Muslims by the Norman rulers.[52]

Clearly, William II was tolerant of the fact that the Muslims of the court, notwithstanding their formal conversion to Christianity, remained at heart loyal to their old faith. But the same ruler did nothing to improve the conditions under which the Sicilian Muslims lived and which were deteriorating as a result of the growing Latinisation of the island. Catania provides a significant example where, in 1168, Bishop John had guaranteed that 'Latins, Greeks, Jews and Saracens shall be judged according to their own law'.[53] But that this formal respect for the rights that pertained to other faiths was unable to check the general tendency towards Latinisation can be seen from a document from 1179, in which Bishop Robert of Catania gave permission for the transformation of a mosque into a church dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury.[54] William II followed this example, on a much greater scale. He granted an extensive territory (over 1,200 square kilometres) in western Sicily, largely inhabited by Muslims, to the Benedictine abbey of St. Maria Nuova of Monreale, which he had founded in 1174 and intended to house his tomb. Admittedly, elsewhere in western Sicily relations between monks and Muslim peasants seem to have been reasonable. Around 1177, Abbot Donatus of St. John of the Hermits allowed three Muslim serfs to return to properties which they had previously abandoned. Since, as recorded in a document written in Arabic, they attested their servile status by an oath on the Quran, their religion would seem to have been treated with some respect.[55]

However, if relatively good relations did exist, they lasted only for a very short time. By the end of the Norman period, the co-existence between Christians and Muslims had already been seriously

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[51] Amari, *BAS*, 175, Broadhurst (1952), 348.
[52] Broadhurst (1952), 357, Cantarella (1989), 109.
[53] De Grossis, *Catana Sacra*, 89.
[54] De Grossis, *Catana Sacra*, 85–6.
[55] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 111–12. For Monreale, see White (1938), 132–45, and Bercher, Courteaux & Mouton (1979).

disturbed. The Muslims were no longer prepared to endure continued harassment from the Christians and so took advantage of the political instability that followed the death of William II in order to rebel, even if with only limited success.[56] They took refuge in the inaccessible and hilly interior of Sicily, although by 1190, when Tancred of Lecce appeared to have been securely established as the king's successor, they seem to have returned to their homes.[57]

Religious minorities during the Staufen period (c.1194–c.1266)

Notwithstanding the progressive Latinisation, there was still a notable religious tolerance towards the Greeks of southern Italy even at the end of the twelfth and in the first half of the thirteenth centuries. Around 1180, the bishop-elect of Gallipoli in the Terra d'Otranto had recourse to the Patriarch of Constantinople to clear up certain liturgical questions.[58] Nicholas/Nektarios, Abbot of St. Nicholas at Casole, not far from Otranto, accompanied the papal legations to Byzantine in 1205/7 and 1214/15 as an interpreter. However, in his theological writings, he remained faithful to Greco-Byzantine doctrine.[59]

From the mid-thirteenth century, peaceful co-existence between Greek and Latin Christians became more difficult since at this time a wave of theological disputations arose from the Dominicans. Although Nicholas, a Greek who came originally from the Durazzo in Albania and who was in 1254 appointed as the Latin bishop of Crotone in Calabria, had previously been busy at the papal court, trying 'orally and in writing to secure a compromise between the Greek church and the Latin', in 1263 Thomas Aquinas produced, on the direct instructions of Urban IV, a tract, 'Against the Errors of the Greeks'.[60]

When he made his entry into Palermo in 1194, Henry VI, who had already pledged to protect the Jews of Germany, confirmed the existing rights of both Muslims and Jews.[61] A year later, the Staufen

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[56] The *Annales Casinenses, MGH SS* xix.314 refer to a revolt in 1189. See also, the reference in the 'Letter to Peter the Treasurer of Palermo' in *Falcandus*, 172 [*Tyrants*, 254–5].

[57] Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, in *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, Rolls Series, 2 vols. 1867), ii.141, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs (London, Rolls Series, 4 vols. 1870), iii.69.

[58] Jacob (1988b), 143–163.

[59] Hoeck & Loenertz (1965), 30–62, 88–105, Falkenhausen (1987), 56.

[60] For Nicolas, see Kamp (1973–82), ii.958–63, and above p. 227.

[61] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, iii.269–70.

emperor recognised the rights of the Archbishop of Trani over the
local Jewish community, but also granted these Jews his imperial
protection. In the *arenga* of the diploma, he referred to his imperial
duty of protecting his subjects and particularly the powerless, irre-
spective of their religion and he expressly condemned forcible con-
version.[62] But while the situation of the Jews was still, on the whole,
favourable at the turn of the century, that of the Muslims in Sicily
was growing progressively worse. When in July 1200, Markward of
Annweiler besieged Palermo with the help of Muslim troops, there
was no reference to Muslims still living in that city.[63] During Frederick
II's minority, the Muslims once more entrenched themselves in the
hills and created disturbances throughout Sicily and the Muslim
villeins of the abbey of Monreale rebelled. Around 1220, the rebels
seized Agrigento, took its bishop prisoner and held him to ransom,
and sacked the town's churches.[64]

Frederick II, like his grandfather Roger II before him, had an
open mind towards Arab learning and culture and successfully
employed Muslim troops in his disputes with the popes. However,
he repressed the rebellion of the Sicilian Muslims with a heavy hand
and finally ordered their deportation to Lucera in northern Apulia.[65]
There, they were able to practise their religion undisturbed. An
attempt in 1233 by Gregory IX to convert them through the agency
of the Dominicans had seemingly little success. However, they lived
in a Latin Christian environment which was not only alien to them,
but also hostile.

The tolerance and support of Frederick II towards the Muslims
of Lucera was for a particular reason as they served him as elite
troops and bodyguards who were unaffected by papal excommuni-
cation. In the Battle of Benevento in 1266, the Muslim archers were,
together with the German knights, King Manfred's most important
supporters. Only in 1269, after their hopes of a triumph by the
Staufen Conradin over the papally-supported Charles I of Anjou,
had proved in vain, did they definitively submit to the new king of

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[62] *Le Carte che si conservano nello Archivio del Capitolo metropolitana della città di Trani
(dal IX secolo fino all'anno 1266)*, ed. A. Prologo (Barletta 1876), 173–6 nos. 83–4 [=
Clementi (1955), 164–6 nos. 77–8]. This protection was subsequently confirmed by
Frederick II in April 1221, Prologo, *Carte*, 216 no. 105.

[63] *Gesta Innocentii* III, c. 26, MPL ccxiv.49.

[64] *Le più antiche carte dell'archivio capitolare di Agrigento (1092–1282)*, ed. P. Collura
(Palermo 1960), 165, 309.

[65] Abulafia (1988), 144–8. See also, Winkelmann (1889), 188 ff, 206–10 and 537 ff.

Sicily. He imposed on them their old duties and incorporated them into his army. Finally, in the year 1300, they fell victim to the growing intolerance towards non-Christians, prompted above all by the preaching of the Dominicans.

The Sicilian Jewish communities

Sicilian Jews represented about five percent of the total population and constituted an important minority although they were far smaller than the Muslim communities.[66] In the past, scholars have claimed that the situation of the Jews in the multi-ethnic Norman kingdom was better than in other parts of Europe.[67] However, more recently, arguments have been advanced to suggest that immigration under the Normans may have changed the traditionally tolerant atmosphere of southern Italy by bringing with them the persecutions that had taken place in west-central Europe following the Crusades.[68]

Some Jews were killed during the Norman siege of Messina in 1061, but this was probably because since they were fully integrated into Sicilian Muslim society, they had therefore assisted the Muslims in the defence of their town.[69] After the conquest of the island, they probably retained their legal and social status in that they continued to pay the *jizya* or poll tax that had previously been paid by Christians and Jews under the Muslims. In southern Italy and Sicily, the Jews often found employment as craftsmen, in commerce or medicine, or even in agriculture. Thus, in 1121, when Duke William of Apulia gave the Jews of Salerno to the archbishop, he granted them a monopoly of work as goldsmiths and butchers within the town.[70] In addition, it is likely that dyeworks and textile production were entirely in Jewish hands.[71] During the reign of Roger II, conditions

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[66] Milano (1963), 105–6, on the basis of Benjamin of Tudela's total of 4832 heads of families. Straus (1910), 10–11, suggests that around three percent of the total population, although the evidence on which this estimate was based is unclear.

[67] Straus (1910), 91 ff.

[68] Palmieri (1990), 50–1.

[69] Generally, see Goitein (1967–88) and Udovitch (1994) 191–213.

[70] *Pergamene Salernitane (1008–1784)*, ed. L.E. Pennacchini (Salerno 1941), 57–9 no. 12. A Jew at Taranto acquired vineyards in 1033 and 1039, Trinchera, *Syllabus*, 29 no. 26, 36 no. 31. Cf. Bresc-Bautier (1979), 115–16, Abulafia (1984), 157–90, and (1990), 119. See also Goitein (1967–88), i.100, Ashtor (1980), 434 ff. and Pavoni (1991), 217 ff.

[71] Strauss (1910), 66 ff.; Marongiu (1937), 3–31, and Girgensohn & Kamp (1965), 151 ff.

at least for some Jews must have been good, as is shown by a let-
ter of around 1140, in which a Jewish merchant living in Palermo
called Abū Saʿīd, invited his brother Abū l-Barakāt, resident in Egypt,
to travel to the capital of the Norman kingdom 'for both pleasure
and business'.[72] Contacts appear to have been maintained between
the Jews of the southern Italian peninsula and their co-religionists
in the east and, in the Norman period, the appeal of Judaism was
not unattractive either. Andrew, the Archbishop of Bari in 1066,
took the opportunity of a trip to Constantinople to convert to Judaism,
while in 1102, a certain priest called John, who was of Norman
descent and brought up in the Basilicata, converted and took the
name Obadayah before migrating to the east.[73] Both these converts
stayed in Cairo for the rest of their lives.[74]

The situation of the Jews during the second half of the twelfth
century was undoubtedly favourable. A 'synagogue of the Jews' is
attested at Naples in 1097, and in 1153 a Jew acquired two prop-
erties lying next door to it with permission to turn them into a syn-
agogue and school.[75] The Jewish merchant from Spain, Benjamin of
Tudela, encountered many flourishing Jewish communities in south-
ern Italy around 1170.[76] While in northern Italian towns such as
Lucca or Pisa, he counted only 20 or 40 Jews (or heads of Jewish
families), he estimated there to be 200 in Rome; 600 at Salerno;
500 at both Naples and Otranto; 300 at Capua and Taranto; 200
each at Benevento, Melfi, Trani and Messina; 40 at Ascoli Satriano;
20 at Amalfi; 10 at Brindisi and 1500 in Palermo. Furthermore,
Benjamin visited only some of the towns of the kingdom. There was
also, for example, a notable Jewish community at Syracuse where,
as a deed drawn up Judeo-Arabic shows, it acquired a piece of land
in 1187 from the Bishop of Cefalù in order to enlarge its cemetery.[77]

The void left by the marginalisation and deportation of the Muslims
in the mid-thirteenth century by Frederick II was filled by Sicilian
Jews of Arabic culture, who quickly became indispensable in the

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[72] Goitein (1973), 323–7 no. 74.
[73] See Scheiber (1954), 362–6; Blumenkranz (1963), 33–6; Scheiber-Adler (1971),
1306–8; and especially Prawer (1979), 110–134; also von Falkenhausen (1986b), 222.
[74] Blumenkranz (1966), 269. See also, Giese (1968), 407–18.
[75] Camera (1860), ii. 35; Ferorelli (1915), 40.
[76] *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. A. Asher, (London and Berlin
1840–41), 37–8, 41, 43 ff., 160.
[77] Cusa, *Diplomi*, 495. See also, Simonsohn, (1963), 8–9. For the Jewish com-
munities of the Val di Mazara, see Goitein (1973), 329–31 no. 75.

translation of documents and books written in Arabic.[78] In the sphere of agriculture, Frederick also sought to provide, at least in part, substitutes for the Muslims who had fled or been deported, with Jewish immigrants from Spain and North Africa. Thus, he settled a group of people at Palermo before 1239, entrusting to them the royal plantations of date-palms, previously abandoned, and with the task of introducing the cultivation of indigo and henna dyestuffs.[79]

Although the Jews were permitted the exercise of their religion and certain rights, for example, that notarial deeds written in Hebrew were legally valid, they nonetheless remained a peripheral social group. The statutes of Palermo, the core of which date back to the Norman and Staufen periods, mention Jews along with tavern-keepers, butchers and prostitutes.[80] The chronicler Richard of San Germano recorded ordinances promulgated by Frederick II against gamblers, prostitutes and jesters and Jews. In accordance with the decisions of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, the emperor issued an order that the Jews of the kingdom of Sicily had to be distinguished by the way that they wore their beards and by their dress.[81] We do not know, however, whether this order was ever put into practice, as there is no law about this issue in the Constitution of Melfi. In this legislative collection, considered as an exemplary one and much admired given the period in which it was issued, one can find clear evidence for the possibility of religious tolerance, but also its limitations.

The sovereign's protection was granted to Jews as well as Muslims.[82] Where the persons responsible for a murder could not be identified, the inhabitants of the community in which the crime had taken place had to pay a collective fine. This applied irrespective of whether the victim was Jewish, Muslim or Christian. The reason adduced for this was that 'we believe that the Christians against them are too great a presence'. However, and here one clearly sees that one cannot talk of equality before the law, the fine for murder of a Christian was 100 *augustales*, whereas that for the killing of a Jew or a Muslim was equivalent to only half that amount.[83] There is only one case attested

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[78] Straus (1910), 82–3.

[79] Abulafia (1988), 335–6.

[80] *Consuetudini della città di Palermo*, ed. V. La Mantia (Palermo, 1900), 59.

[81] Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, ed. C.A. Garufi (*RIS*, Bologna 1935), 95–6.

[82] *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II*, I.18, pp. 170–1 [English translation, *Liber Augustalis*, 22]: 'We do not desire them to be harassed in their innocence because they are Jews or Saracens'.

[83] *Ibid.* I.28, p. 42 [*Liber Augustalis*, 30].

under Frederick II where a Jew held an important governmental post. His name has not been transmitted to us, but we know that he held the post of *secretus*, that is, he obtained the post of 'farmer' of indirect taxes. Somewhat later, he was imprisoned because he had failed to present a regular account of the administration of his office.[84]

The Constitutions of Melfi are of particular importance for the history of the Jews in the kingdom of Sicily because in them only the Jews were allowed to lend money, with a rate of interest of up to ten per cent. The ban on Christians lending money forcibly put the Jews in a monopoly position. Before this, insofar as we know given the tiny number of documents of this type that have survived, Christians seem to have been involved just as much as Jews in the provision of credit. Indeed, we have only a very few references to Jewish moneylenders in southern Italy. Thus, in the Montecassino chronicle, we read of a loan made to the abbey by a Jew before 1022.[85] In addition, two charters of 1200 and 1205 from the church of St Nicholas, Bari, talk of a Jew from Trani who was active as a moneylender.[86] But the supposition that the Jews did not have a dominant position in the provision of credit in southern Italy receives some confirmation from a phrase of Thomas Aquinas. In his 'About the Government of Jews' written for the Duchess of Brabant, he writes, among other things, that in order to prevent the Jews being given over entirely to usury and depriving the state of income, it would be better that they should be forced to make a living through their own labour, 'as is done in parts of Italy'.[87]

The Jews of southern Italy lived in their own quarters of the larger cities, but these should not be confused with ghettos, while in smaller places, such as Erice (Monte San Guiliano), they lived intermingled among Christians.[88] In the Staufen period, they were largely unaffected by the activities of the Franciscans and Dominicans who became more effective only during the later thirteenth century. A large number of conversions did take place in southern Italy during the second half of the thirteenth century while, towards the end of that

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[84] Sthamer (1927), 349.
[85] *Chron. Cas.*, II.43, p. 250. For the problem generally, see Goitein (1967–88), i, 253.
[86] *Cod. Dipl. Barese*, vi.20–2 no. 10, 30–1 no. 18. See also, Houben (1993), 24 ff.
[87] *Aquinas. Selected Political Writings*, ed. A.P. D'Entrèves, trans. J.G. Dawson (Oxford 1948), 86–7.
[88] Abulafia (1984), 157–90.

century, there were actually forced conversions.[89] However, on the island of Sicily, oppression of the Jews only developed towards the end of the fourteenth century.[90]

The islands of Malta, Gozo and Pantelleria

Unlike the Latinisation of Sicily, the history of the islands of Malta, Gozo and Pantelleria, which also belonged to the Norman-Staufen kingdom, unfolded along quite different lines. Malta was conquered by Roger II in 1127, but its Christianisation intensified from the second half of the twelfth century. The diocese of Malta was created in 1156 as a suffragan of Palermo. A bishop of Malta was attested from 1167, but we do not know if, or for how long, he actually resided on the island.[91] Even in 1175, Burchard of Strassburg, an envoy of Frederick Barbarossa, had the impression, perhaps based on the brief visit to the island, that it was exclusively or at least in a large part, inhabited by Muslims.[92] On the basis of a passage in a privilege of the Empress Constance in 1198 in which the Christians and Muslims living in Malta and Gozo, called 'the Empress's faithful subjects', appear to have had the same rights (the text of which has only been transmitted incompletely), it has been suggested that Roger II imposed an annual tax on the Christians who were resident in Malta, and on them only.[93] This tax clearly ought to be placed in the context of the relations between the two ethnic groups; the behaviour of the Christians towards the Muslims had harmed the interests of the ruler.

The Latinisation of the island only really began after 1224 following the deposition of Count Henry of Malta. Frederick II had the inhabitants of the Abruzzi town of Celano, who had rebelled against his rule, deported first to Sicily and then to Malta.[94] Among the Muslims deported by the Staufen emperor to Lucera, there were

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[89] See Starr (1946), 203–11, Cohen (1982), 85 ff.

[90] Bresc (1986), 635–43.

[91] *Italia Pontificia*, x.231 no. 27, 269–71.

[92] Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, VII.8, ed. J.M. Lappenberg, *MGH SS*, xxi.236.

[93] *Diplomata Constantiae Imperatricis et Reginae Siciliae (1195–98)*, ed. T. Kölzer (Cologne and Vienna 1983), 208 no. 66.

[94] Richard of San Germano, *Chronica*, 112–13. See also, Luttrell (1975), 34 ff.

probably also some to be found who were natives of Malta.[95] Hence, it is quite likely that in a record of the income and expenditure of the government of Malta and Gozo, drawn up around 1241 on the instructions of Frederick II, the number of Christian families listed there should be amended from 47 to 1047.[96] The number of Muslim families was still considerable at 681 and there were 25 Jewish households as well. The Christianisation of the neighbouring island of Gozo was less advanced. There, along with 203 Christian families, were 155 Muslim ones and eight Jewish. However, the island of Pantelleria, 100km away from Sicily but only 70km away from the north African coast, remained entirely Muslim, even in the Staufen period. In contrast to the to the people of Malta, some 85km from Sicily, Pantelleria's inhabitants succeeded in preserving their own religion even into the Angevin period. Indeed, the island was only Latinised in the fifteenth century.[97]

Conclusion

In conclusion, one can suggest that the possibilities and limits of religious tolerance in the southern Italian peninsula during the Norman and Staufen periods from the eleventh to thirteenth century underwent profound changes. The Norman rulers were tolerant towards Jews and Muslims as long as the latter proved useful to them. The limitations of religious tolerance became evident when the growing Latinisation of the kingdom relegated the non-Christians (and soon also the non-Latin Christians) to a marginalised social position. Even Roger II, who had a considerable admiration for Arab culture, was not immune to this development. The religious intolerance which he showed in the last years of his life was the consequence of growing pressure from Latin Christian religion and culture. The Norman rulers, as is clear from the case of William II, allowed themselves the luxury of an Arab court, but outside that court, they presented themselves as the protectors of Christians. Frederick II too remained faithful to this tradition. On the one hand, he was interested in

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[95] Ibn Khaldūn, translated in Amari, *BAS*, 212 ff.

[96] *Acta imperii inedita saeculi XIII et XIV*, ed. E. Winkelmann (2 vols., Innsbruck, 1880 [reprinted 1964]), i.713–5 no. 938.

[97] Bresc (1986), 622–5, argues that Malta and Gozo appear to have been entirely Christian by about 1270. For Pantelleria, see *op. cit.* 106.

Arabic science and ready to discuss it with the Sultan of Egypt, but on the other hand, he was ready to suppress the Muslims of Sicily by deporting them. In doing so, he accelerated the end of the cultural diversity of the kingdom, such that only in the remote islands of Malta, Gozo and especially Pantelleria, was Arab culture even in a position to survive.

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Vera von Falkenhausen is Professor of Byzantine History at the University of Rome - Tor Vergata, having previously taught at the Universities of Potenza and Chieti. She has written the standard work on the administration of Byzantine Italy (1967), and many essays on the Greek provinces of early medieval Italy, especially on their ecclesiastical and urban history.